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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE

DEMOCRACY UNDER CENTRALIZED GUIDANCE STRESSED

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Fang Shaohua [2455 4801 5478]: "It Is Necessary To Adhere to 'Democracy Under Centralized Guidance'"]

[Text] Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of our party and the fundamental political system of our state; party organizations at various levels and government organs, people's groups, entrepreneurial units and public institutions at various levels must all adhere to and carry out democratic centralism. What is democratic centralism? The interpretation in the past was that it is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Today, there are two views on this interpretation: one view is that this interpretation is still correct and should continue to be adhered to; the other view holds that centralism on the basis of democracy already inclusively covers the contents of democratic centralism, so there is no need to add "democracy under centralized guidance," and they think that this additional statement is superfluous, unscientific, and hence should be discarded. Their reasons are: (1) When Lenin discoursed on democratic centralism, he mentioned only centralism on the basis of democracy and not democracy under centralized guidance; adding this statement distorts Lenin's original intention. (2) Centralism on the basis of democracy already inclusively covers all the contents of democratic centralism; if democracy under centralized guidance is added, it implies that there is a centralism apart from democracy, and that centralism is higher than democracy; hence that would be unscientific. (3) The connotation of democracy under centralized guidance is imprecise; it is not clear as to who is going to guide democracy. (4) Emphasis placed on democracy under centralized guidance can easily be utilized by those who resort to patriarchy and to rule by the voice of a single man. Is this latter view appropriate? I think it is not appropriate, and I also have four reasons:

1. The statement "democracy under centralized guidance" was indeed not mentioned by Lenin in his works; the proposition was made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his book "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." The proposition at the time was: "insure democracy under centralized guidance." Later on, in his book "On Coalition Government," he again combined the two statements "centralism on the basis of democracy, democracy under centralized guidance" together as the contents of democratic centralism. The Seventh Party Congress and party constitutions passed by all party congresses thereafter have inherited this proposition. Does this proposition violate Lenin's original intention concerning democratic centralism?

No. Lenin paid a great deal of attention to centralism; in his book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," he seriously criticized the opportunistic viewpoint of Martov and others who attacked centralism as bureaucratism under the banner of upholding self-government, and profoundly pointed out: this "tends to lead to distorting 'the principle of democracy' as anarchism."

2. Centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance comprehensively cover the contents of democratic centralism and correctly reflect the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism; they are the two indispensable aspects of the process of democracy. These two statements are made in succession, the latter centralized guidance is no other than the former centralism. After centralization is carried out on the basis of democracy, scope is then given to democracy under this centralized guidance; it is not that democracy is suspended once centralization is achieved. That is to say, after discussion, the decision made according to the principle of the minority obeying the majority is no other than centralism; but the question as to how this decision can be better carried out again requires the practice of democratic discussion, and this is no other than democracy under centralized guidance. This does not mean that once the decision is made according to the principle of the minority obeying the majority, the matter is considered accomplished, but that discussion must be further carried out on the basis of that decision as to how it is to be realized. If this democracy under centralized guidance is absent, the matter simply cannot be accomplished. If one thinks that the proposition "democracy under centralized guidance" implies that "there is a centralism apart from democracy, and that centralism is higher than democracy and is therefore qualified to guide democracy," this represents a misunderstanding of the statement and is not the original connotation of the statement. Countless facts in our real life indicate that the two statements, centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance, are closely related and inseparable from each other. Take the construction of the four modernizations we are carrying out, for example. It is the wish and demand of the people of the whole country--that is, it is proposed through a concentration of the opinions of the majority; at the same time, all of us also give scope to democracy under the guidance of this centralism (construction of the four modernizations) by discussing and studying how to do a good job in carrying out the construction of the four modernizations. If we want only centralism on the basis of democracy and not democracy under centralized guidance, how can we do a good job in carrying out the construction of the four modernizations? Also, in the election of the party's delegates and the party's committees, it is necessary to go through full democratic discussion and then, according to the principle of the minority obeying the majority, consider those who receive more than half of the ballots as elected: this is centralism on the basis of democracy. But before the election is carried out, it is necessary for the preceding party committee to put forward the conditions for a delegate, the number of delegates and committee members, and the ratio of the delegates to be elected as to their sex, age, etc, as well as the date of the election. These questions decided by the preceding party committee were also determined on the basis of democracy through full preparation and full discussion by all committee members. If the preceding party committee failed to provide clear prescriptions on these questions, the election could not be held. This illustrates why the process of the election is both centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. This democracy under centralized guidance is not separate from democracy, nor higher than democracy, but is based on democracy and an

indispensable link in the process of democracy. If the election is not put under centralized guidance, delegates and committee members cannot be elected. As Comrade Chen Yun has said: without democracy things cannot be done; without centralism, nothing can be done.

3. Democracy under centralized guidance has a definite content; it stresses democracy, but it requires that democracy proceed under centralized guidance. This centralized guidance is based on democracy and is exercised by the democratically produced leading organs of the party and state, with the party constitution and the state constitution and the party's line, principles and policies as its norms. If party members and citizens do not take the party constitution and state constitution as their guide when they exercise their democratic rights, then that is not socialist democracy of the proletariat and it is bound to fall into the mudpit of extreme democratization and anarchism.

4. Will emphasis on democracy under centralized guidance be utilized by those addicted to patriarchy to carry out autocratic dictatorship? No, because this centralized guidance is based on democracy; it is the collective leadership of the democratically elected leading organs and not the guidance of any individual. Those who resort to personal autocracy do not do so because of this statement on democracy under centralized guidance; in the absence of this statement and with only the statement on "centralism on the basis of democracy," they would also have "reason" to do so because there is still centralism! Has there not been someone in our real life who resorted to "democracy on your part, centralism on my part" and ended up in the final analysis with rule by his voice alone? If we discard "democracy under centralized guidance" because of our fear that some would utilize "centralism," then should not "centralism on the basis of democracy" also be discarded?

In sum, democracy under centralized guidance is closely connected with centralism on the basis of democracy, and the two are the two indispensable flanks of the process of democracy; they correctly reflect the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism and therefore are scientific; they need not, nor should they be discarded. Our question at present is not to discard this statement of democracy under centralized guidance, but in a genuinely correct way to adhere to and implement the principle of democratic centralism. On the one hand, we must fully give scope to democracy, earnestly respect the democratic rights of party members and the people, resolutely carry out the principle of the minority obeying the majority in the process of giving scope to democracy, and thoroughly change the condition of rule by the voice of one man; on the other hand, we must stress necessary centralism, resolutely prevent and overcome the state of anarchism. Only a correct combination of democracy and centralism will be beneficial to the development of our cause.

9255

CSO: 4005/565

PARTY AND STATE

PRACTICAL METHODS USED TO ELIMINATE 'LEFT' INFLUENCE

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 81 p 1

[Article: "Using the Methods of Presenting Facts, Discussion, and Investigation to Eliminate 'Leftist' Influence"]

[Text] Recently, the Shijiazhuang local committee of the CCP held courses at the local committee party school in two separate sessions for commune assistant secretaries in charge of ideological and political work. They conscientiously studied the documents resulting from the Central Committee's Work Conference, used the methods of criticism and self-criticism, tied in the actual situation in our country, summed up their experiences and lessons learned, eliminated "leftist" influences, and further heightened their self-consciousness in implementing the Party's line, programs, and policies.

Before the classes were held, the local committee's leading comrades separately went to the various counties to investigate and acquaint themselves with the situation regarding the study and implementation of the documents resulting from the Central Committee's Work Conference. They discovered that a considerable proportion of cadres still underestimated the influence of "leftism," and did not understand it thoroughly. Moreover, some even considered that the main thing at present was not necessarily that we should eradicate the influence of "leftist" ideology. To counter these vague conceptions, the students in the training classes were organized to conscientiously study the Central Committee's documents over and over again. The local committee's leading comrades personally provided guidance, leading everyone in carrying out deepgoing discussions from the following three aspects. The first was to look back on history and present the facts of the manifestations of "leftism." They gained a penetrating understanding of the fact that for more than 20 years the error of "leftism" has really been the main body of error in our society. The second was to relate this to the actual situation in our country in order to discuss the dangers of "leftism." They understood more clearly that due to the error of the guiding ideology of "leftism," our national economy was on several occasions seriously damaged, and was finally brought to the brink of disaster. Politically, the class struggle was enlarged, which harmed a number of cadres and the masses. The harm brought upon the Party and the state by the error or "leftism" was really tragic. The third was to investigate their own thinking, and to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "left." By means of clear presentation of facts, discussion, and investigation, along with tying in the actual situation in our country, the comrades taking part in the training class were made to truly recognize that the influence of the "left" is actually universal, that it particularly exists among our leading cadres, and that "leftism" is the main problem.

"Leftist" things exist among the upper echelons as well as the lower echelons, and, in the same way, exist in our own minds. The comrades, deeply affected by all this, said that for the past many years under the influence of the "left" there had already been formed in their minds a complete set of established "leftist" patterns, so that this whole set of "leftist" patterns had become attractive--easy to apply and easy to follow. As a result, one might have been poisoned without realizing one was poisoned. Some comrades engaged in self-criticism, saying that for a long time they had considered that the whole set of "leftist" notions was correct, and was the standard, and that therefore up till now in their work they had continued to apply these old set patterns and, without really being conscious of it, had implemented the whole set of "leftist" notions. At present they want to continue to eradicate the ideological influence of the "left," and want to restore the original aspect of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but instead they tend to feel that it is rightist, and even do not dare to get a good hold on their work. Looking at the Party's present programs and policies in that "leftist" light, they generally consider that these have become "biased," and this has a negative effect on their implementing of the Party's programs and policies. By means of using the methods of criticism and self-criticism to clear up the influence of "leftist" ideology, everyone will comprehend the definite necessity of using the overall viewpoint of dialectics to look upon the situation in our country and the Party's programs and policies; make great efforts to overcome one-sidedness; heighten their conscientiousness in carrying out the Party's line, programs, and policies; and do a good job of this year's industrial and agricultural production and all other items of work.

9634

CSO: 4005/579

PARTY AND STATE

PINGQUAN COUNTY COMMITTEE CORRECTS 'LEFT' ERRORS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 81 p 1

[Article: "Pingquan County Committee Clears Up Its Own 'Left' Ideology"]

[Text] The Pingquan County Committee's continuously convened meeting, along with passing judgment upon the "left" errors of some of those formerly in charge of the Provincial Committee. With reference to the county's problem of placing emphasis on clearing up "leftist" thinking actually existing in the county committee itself, the committee unified their understanding of the problem, roused their spirit, and promoted various items of work needed at present to accomplish this.

Over the past few years in this county, due to the fact that there was not enough universal understanding of the problem of "leftist" thinking existing among cadres, in criticizing "leftism" there was a tendency to criticize the "leftism" of high-ranking officials and the "leftism" of others, but people did not conscientiously try to clear up "leftism" in themselves. To a definite degree, therefore, they still used a leftist viewpoint to observe matters and deal with contradictions, and even used "leftist" methods to deal with the problems of "leftism." The result of this way of doing things was that they lacked a thorough understanding of the party's line, programs, and policies formulated at the Third Plenum, and were even one-sided and not sufficiently conscientious of carrying them out. The facts educated them and caused them to recognize that if they did not clear up their own "leftist" thinking, it would not be possible for them to understand the situation in our country correctly or carry through the great programs of economic readjustment and political stability, and it would not be possible for them to maintain political unanimity with the Central Committee. If they did not eliminate their own "leftist" errors, it would not be possible to unify a larger number of comrades and truly uphold the four basic principles. If they did not eliminate their own "leftist" ideology, it would be possible for the old disease to break out again in the future under suitable conditions, and even possible for them to commit the mistake of "leftism" once again.

How, after all, does one clear up one's own "leftist" thinking? This county's standing committee looked back and drew general conclusions from their historical experiences, both positive and negative. In the course of frequent political movements after 1957, in solving ideological problems causing rifts between comrades and dealing with mistakes in our political work, there was a tendency to adopt the method of criticizing from the higher plane of principle or by sticking to a two-line struggle. Those in subordinate positions as well as their superiors acted irresponsibly.

People were criticized individually and at large, or singled out a particular person for criticism. In a given movement you single me out for punishment, and in the next movement I single you out for punishment. With people inflicting punishment on each other in this way, not only was it impossible to solve the problem of ideological understanding, but it also made for a lot of difficulties between comrades, with everyone on his guard against the other person, so that for a long time there was not even any place to escape from all the confusion. People have really suffered quite sufficiently from this kind of method, and we absolutely cannot ever again set about inflicting needless suffering in this way.

They also realized that "leftist" things have continued for many years, have become systematized, and have developed into a habit, so that the task of clearing up "leftist" things is really an arduous undertaking, and definitely not something that can be solved merely by holding a few criticism meetings. The best method for clearing up "leftist" elements in one's own thinking is to launch a program of regular, systematic criticism and self-criticism. Their concrete techniques for this were as follows:

The first was, based firmly on the practice of self-criticism, not to imitate slavishly the irresponsible behavior patterns either of higher-ups or of the lower echelons. Comrade Wang Shusen [3769 2885 2773], Secretary of the County Committee, said several times that although there are some "leftist" things that the higher-ups allow us to practice, we still should not practice them and shift the blame onto the higher-ups. Moreover, there are other "leftist" things which, even if the lower echelons engage in them, we should not practice them and shift the blame onto the lower echelons. He related this to various rather prominent "leftist" problems existing throughout this county, such as the unequal sharing of benefits resulting from the [capital] construction on farmland, the elimination of sheep raising by individual commune members, and the limitation of trade fairs in the countryside. At several meetings, he often took the lead in engaging in self-criticism, and took the initiative in accepting responsibility. The committee leader did a good job of taking the lead, and the other standing committee members persevered in following his example. As a result, a good atmosphere for self-criticism, was created.

The second was to promote democracy fully and enliven democratic life within the party. At the meeting of the Standing Committee, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary encouraged everyone to be bold in expressing different viewpoints and exposing their own thinking. No one was attacked, branded with labels, beaten with sticks or sacked for his differing, even erroneous viewpoints. If some comrades for a period of time [in the past] could not comprehend the line, programs, and policies formulated by the Third Plenum, they then concluded that ideology had become excessively liberated, and suspected that the climate had become "rightist." Regarding this phenomenon, the county Standing Committee at several meetings launched discussions, did not escalate matters to a higher plane of principle or formulate them in terms of a two-line struggle, and did not indiscriminately brand people with labels, but means of presenting the facts, speaking logically, and raising their ideological understanding, caused these comrades' thinking to become further liberated, and enabled them to recognize that it was not a question of ideology having become "excessively" liberated, or rightist, but that they themselves had not yet been liberated from the bonds of "leftism."

The third was that, in launching a program of criticism and self-criticism, they had to persevere in seeking truth from facts. In clearing up "leftist" ideology and errors, they persevered in making concrete analyses. They could not, saying

"left," then assume that everything was actually "left" and negate correct elements within their thinking as being erroneous.

The fourth was, through investigation and research, to conscientiously clear up "leftist" ideology. Regarding those "leftist" questions which for a time at the meetings they could not sufficiently clear up, they were not over-anxious to achieve immediate results. They did not force everyone to accept everything they said, but generally encouraged them to get down to a deepgoing investigation and research to purify their ideology through actual practice.

The fifth was self-consciously accepting the supervision of the masses, and asking others to help them clear up their "leftist" ideological influence. This county's Standing Committee carefully took advantage of the opportunity of entertaining the suggestions contained in letters sent in by the masses and complaints voiced by the visitors. They made use of all kinds of meetings to ask area, commune, and brigade cadres to present their views, and made use of the opportunity of going down into the countryside to work there and collect opinions from the masses so as to understand their own "leftist" thinking and its dangers. One Assistant Secretary in charge of the work of putting policies into effect, at first set aright cases of unjust, false, and erroneous charges. After clarifying the main questions, he did not solve a tangle of nonessential questions tidily enough, and for this reason the work of implementing policies proceeded slowly for a time. After implementing the spirit of the documents resulting from the Central Committee's Work Conference and the provincial party committee's meeting including three levels of cadres, he heightened his understanding of the "leftist" ideology. Furthermore, in entertaining the criticisms of those who came to call, he patiently listened to their views, and carefully rectified their tendency to use the "leftist" viewpoint to look upon and deal with problems. Thus, the rate of progress in implementing the Central Committee's policies was accelerated.

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CSO: 4005/579

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY IN ZHEJIANG STRIVES TO ELIMINATE 'LEFTIST' IDEOLOGY

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "Carry Out Criticism, Self-Criticism And Eliminate 'Leftist' Ideology"]

[Text] Cadres of county bodies at the levels of section chiefs and bureau directors and above of the Jiangshan County party committee and leading party group have studied the pertinent documents of the Central Working Conference and the "Guiding Principles Regarding Internal Party Political Life." They integrated their own ideology with practical work, summed up experiences and lessons, carried out criticism and self-criticism, eliminated "leftist" ideology, made a clear distinction between right and wrong, and emphasized resolving the question of how to correctly understand the lines, principles and policies adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Comrades generally expressed the view that this study helped us to dispel a lot of ideological problems and that we have now become fully convinced and our hearts are now linked to each other. We have become vigorous and united and are encouraged to carry out our work.

During the study, everyone maintained links with practice, reviewed and summed up experiences and lessons in the past some 20 years. They set down losses caused by magnification of the antirightist struggle in 1957, by the undue projection and tendency to boast and exaggerate in 1958, by the antiright deviationism in 1959, and by the 10-year calamity of the "Great Cultural Revolution." They noted that these important setbacks, whether political or economic, were results of "leftist" mistakes. At the same time, they also set down the current concrete manifestation of the "leftist" influence in all aspects to enable every one of us to further understand that the Guiding Principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which advocate redressing "leftist" mistakes and starting from reality, are absolutely correct. Many comrades asked: In the past why did we always meet with a rebuff or a setback and get put down over and over again in our work? It was because they failed to eradicate the "leftist" ideology. Some said: In the past, we always regarded the "left" as better than the right. The "left" is a question of method and the right is a question of stand. We even regarded that whatever was "left" was correct and revolutionary and that those who adhered to seeking truth from facts were "right deviationists" and "backward;" and as a result the latter became targets of criticism or attack. For a long time, due to the fact that we consistently emphasized being antiright and continuously carried out

our work under the "leftist" guiding ideology, all of us were affected by the pernicious "leftist" influence. The question now is not whether we are influenced or not, but how far and how deeply we are influenced. Only through learning and summing up experiences and lessons, and eliminating the influence of "leftist" ideology, can we conscientiously implement the lines, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and adhere to what the party Central Committee politically requires of us. Some comrades said with an intimate knowledge of this: We formerly thought that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party policy had turned to the "right," which had been regarded as deviating and backward. Now we understand that nothing is wrong with the policy of the party. What is wrong is that we judge party policy by the old "leftist" standards. Our thinking is not on the right track and therefore we cannot keep abreast of the development of the current changing situation.

In order to deepen our ideological understanding, many comrades have employed the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to conscientiously eliminate the "leftist" ideology and mistakes. The first issue concerns economic policy. Many comrades continue to regard equalitarianism as socialism. When it comes to coordinating reward with production, they fear that the socialist direction will be jeopardized and that the collective economy will crumble. When it comes to relaxation of policy, they fear that capitalism will run wild and thereby disturb the economy. When it comes to letting some area or some person become rich first, they fear that it will negate the path of common prosperity and thereby produce a polarization of the society. The second issue concerns the policy toward people in whom the "leftist" restraint has not yet been shaken off. We are not conscientious enough in redressing unjust, false and wrong charges and are not bold enough in utilizing comrades who have committed mistakes before but have since been corrected and are behaving better. We still do not quite understand why the leading groups should be young, knowledgeable and specialized. Some even go further and take a passive attitude or become resentful. In view of the "leftist" influence that exists in these issues, some comrades fear that "mistakes may have to be corrected" again later, and they therefore become dispirited and dare not carry out their work boldly. And ideological divergence has appeared in some others which has produced a harmful impact on unity. Through learning and discussion, our ideology has now been unified under the lines, principles and policies of the party. Our spirit has been inspired and our ideology linked up. Misunderstanding no longer exists among us. As a result, unity has been further strengthened. Many comrades said: This meeting has managed to eliminate the "leftist" ideology. It has concentrated on what is of basic importance and hit on the crucial point. Since this problem is resolved, we now can have a common language and can take concerted action.

In order to do a better job in implementing the lines, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the spirit of the Central Working Conference, leading comrades of the county party committee and all departments, committees and bureaus left their offices one after another to go among the masses to carry out investigation and research, to sum up experiences and lessons, and to give working directions in the light of the actual situation. Aside from the three members of the Standing Committee of the county party committee who take care of industrial and office work, the

other seven have gone to villages to stay at selected units. A total of 34 chief responsible comrades of party committees, working bodies, sections and bureaus have gone to key food-producing areas, mountainous districts and more troubled, less advanced places to help them carry out their work.

9560

CSO: 4005/555

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO MAINTAIN CONSISTENCY WITH PARTY

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Zong Chuan [1350 1557]: "Does 'Not Singing the Contrary Tune' Suffice?"]

[Text] Some party members say: "If I am asked to maintain consistency with the party, this can easily be done; I will in any case do whatever I am asked to do and say whatever I am asked to say, making sure that I am not singing the contrary tune." Is this way of saying things appropriate? This requires some analysis.

To maintain political consistency with party organizations, in the first instance with the party Central Committee, and to take maintenance of the party's centralized unity and strictly following the party's discipline as the norms of one's words and deeds: these are fundamental demands made on every communist and also the elementary qualities which every communist should possess. Any party member singing a contrary tune vis-a-vis the party on such major questions of principle as the party's line, principles and policies is definitely not permitted by the party's organizational discipline. But it is not enough simply to maintain the party's centralized unity and maintain political consistency with the party by just "not singing the contrary tune."

Promoting party members to maintain political consistency with the party by no means suggests advocating blind obedience or slavishness; this is consistent with the development of the party member's personal enthusiasm, activism and creativity. If a party member does what he pleases apart from the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, follows a different track, and "sings the contrary tune" vis-a-vis the party, he naturally cannot play his role as a party member. But if he merely refrains from singing the contrary tune, propagates whatever the party Central Committee says and mechanically executes whatever the party Central Committee asks him to do without fully demonstrating his own creativity and subjective mobility, then it will also be rather difficult for him to bring into full play the role of a vanguard and model as a party member should.

On the other hand, our party's discipline is iron-clad discipline, but at the same time also a discipline based on self-consciousness; it is fundamentally different from the fascist discipline trotted out by the big and small counterrevolutionary bleats of Lin Biao and his ilk. The reason Lin Biao and his ilk relished propagating the idea that "you must execute what you understand, and you must also execute what you do not understand" is because they wanted to engage in counterrevolutionary activities aimed at usurping the party and seizing power and to engage in disreputable, conniving plots. If the people have a full and profound understanding of

such plots, then their counterrevolutionary antics in carrying out antiparty activities under the a'gnboard of the party will get nowhere. Lin Biao's reactionary character determined the way he was able to treat his cronies only as instruments at the disposal of his whims. But what our party is engaged in is an exceedingly glorious and great cause; every policy and every proposition on the part of our party is dedicated to obtaining benefits for the greatest majority of the people. It has no selfish interests to serve and therefore its conduct is above reproach and it dares to state its goals and stand openly. Insofar as the individual party member is concerned, the more deeply he understands the party's line, principles and policies and the more consciously he executes them, the better he is also able to demonstrate his initiative and creativity, and the more beneficial it is to the party and the people. There will be no room for his initiative and creativity if he simply refrains from singing the contrary tune.

The reason we say it is not enough if one simply refrains from singing the contrary tune is also because merely "not singing the contrary tune" does not necessarily serve to help one really maintain consistency with the party or automatically take the maintenance of the party's centralized unity and strictly following the party's discipline as the norms for one's own words and deeds, since consistency in ideology is the premise of centralized unity in organization and politics. If one does not really seek to solve problems ideologically, or to maintain consistency with the party ideologically in the first instance, but conducts himself in a passive, negative way and with reluctance, then even if he seems to be consistent with the party on the surface, he is leaving a big gap between himself and the party ideologically; in such circumstances, it is very difficult for him to maintain real political consistency with the party or to consciously maintain the party's centralized unity. And even if he temporarily succeeds in doing so, that consistency remains superficial and the real situation is often that he behaves one way at a meeting but another way after the meeting; he says things one way but thinks about things another way; and what comes from his mouth is one thing whereas what comes from his deeds is actually another. In a word, he is inconsistent between his heart and his mouth, his external appearance and his internal consideration, and his words and his deeds. This phenomenon is a reflection of bourgeois liberalism in the ideological state of some of our comrades. Such liberalism is bound to affect their adherence to, and execution of, the party's line, principles and policies, and still less can it be expected to help them influence or guide the masses in adherence to, and execution of, the party's line, principles and policies through a party member's role as model and guide. There is a saying, "making concerted efforts on the basis of uniform thinking"; this can be used to describe the close relationship of a party member maintaining consistency with the party ideologically and politically, and consciously seeking to maintain the party's centralized unity in his deeds. Only when thinking is uniform can efforts be made in a concerted way. If a party member cannot really share uniform thinking with his party, even if he refrains from "singing the contrary tune" on the surface, it will still be impossible for him to make concerted efforts with the party. This requires that each party member first of all maintain consistency with the party ideologically and not be satisfied with "not singing the contrary tune."

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS WARNED NOT TO PUT PRIVATE INTERESTS FIRST

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Yu Fu [4416 1788]: "Does a Communist Party Member Have the Liberty To Do Whatever Is Accepted By the Society?"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Editor:

Some time ago I heard the following story: There was a Communist Party member of a certain plant who, aside from the 8-hour regular work, was busy engaging in peddling all around. At times he even set up a stall at the entrance of the plant, thereby hindering work. Reaction from the masses was not favorable. Someone suggested to him that this was not the right thing to do. But he responded: Why can't a Communist Party member do whatever is accepted by the society? I would like to ask, is his argument correct?

Your Reader,
Xu Xun [6079 6061]

Does a Communist Party member have the liberty to do whatever is accepted by the society? Of course not. For instance, it is stipulated by the constitution that all citizens enjoy freedom of belief. Does this mean that all Communist Party members are allowed to have a blind belief in Buddha? The principle of distribution according to work is practiced under socialism. But does a Communist Party member have the liberty to decide the amount of work he is to render commensurate with the amount of money he is to receive, or is he allowed not to perform his duty as a Communist Party member if he is not paid? The reason why we allow an individual economy to exist at present is because our current productivity level is not high enough and an individual economy can make up certain deficiencies in public ownership economy. However, it is only a means to continuously develop public ownership economy. Its purpose is not to develop individual economy in our country, but to further consolidate public ownership and to promote the development of the entire national economy. Undoubtedly, we Communist Party members should make an effort to strengthen and develop public ownership. Especially at present, when the party Central Committee has adopted important principles to carry out further economic readjustment and to bring about further political stability, there is a lot of arduous and strenuous work waiting for

every Communist Party member to take the lead to do a good job. Why can't we concentrate our efforts and contribute to this urgent and important task rather than busily engaging in private business to make personal profits? I think the question here is whether one should wholeheartedly fight for the cause of the party or only for one's own personal interests.

It is not correct to say that attention should be given only to national and collective interests and that no personal interests will be allowed. However, is the objective of the struggle of a Communist Party member to seek personal material interests or is it to work for the interests of the vast majority of the people? Or should we place the individual above the party and the nation, or place the party and the nation in a position high above everything? Obviously, a Communist Party member should attach primary importance to the interests of the revolution and be ready at all times to sacrifice himself in order to fight heroically for the interests of the party and the people. That is to say, every Communist Party member should take action by himself to disseminate communist ideas and to reflect the spirit that we fear neither hardship nor death and that we are absolutely impartial and most selfless so that we can lead the public to revolutionize the general attitude of society in order to guarantee the smooth implementation of the four modernizations. If a Communist Party member always puts his own private interests first or cares about money, how can he give expression to the true qualities of the "advanced unit?" And how can the ultimate aim of communism be realized? In this sense, it is of course not right for this Communist Party member to pay attention to engaging in peddling regardless of its harmful impact on society.

Comrade Mao Zedong told us long ago that a Communist Party member should not confuse himself with the average person nor should he confuse the advanced standard of a Communist Party member with the working and living standards of the common citizens. A society is organized by a variety of people and Communist Party members should be the most advanced among them. The society is always in progress and the words and deeds of Communist party members should be in line with the direction of the development of society. This principle is unwavering. On 1 June 1943, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote five Chinese characters meaning, "Standing at the Forefront," to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. In my opinion, these five Chinese characters should be regarded as the motto of every Communist Party member! Let us always stand at the forefront of absolute impartiality and selflessness, at the forefront where we can wholeheartedly dedicate ourselves to the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, and at the forefront where we may help surmount the difficulties and hardships of our country by struggling arduously so that the true qualities of Communist Party members can become more dazzlingly brilliant.

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CSO: 4005/555

PARTY AND STATE

BUILDING OF SOCIALIST CIVILIZATION STRESSED

Guangzhou BUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 81 p 1

[Report: "Elevate Level of Theory, Strengthen Building of Socialist Civilization--Rotational Training Class for Cadres and Party History Study Class at Party School of the Municipal Party Committee Get Started"]

[Text] The first rotational training class for cadres and the party history study class at the party school of the CCP Guangzhou municipal committee held an opening ceremony on 6 March. Comrade Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342], first secretary of the municipal party committee, who was present, gave an important speech stressing that we must energetically strengthen the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and strengthen our theoretical study. Participating in the opening ceremony were responsible comrades of various departmental party committee offices of the municipal party committee and leading cadres of concerned units, numbering altogether more than 1,000.

This training class for the cadres will mainly study three books: "Study Marx's Theory on Reproduction," "A Selected Collection of the Draft Articles of Comrade Chen Yun," and Xue Muqiao's "Study of Problems in China's Socialist Economy." It requires the participants to sum up experience and lessons in our economic construction and to achieve improvement in the level of Marxist economic theory, in consciousness of our ideological line and professional knowledge of economic management, and in the party's workstyle, in order to adapt to the needs of the construction of the four modernizations. Apart from studying Marxist economic theory, the party history study class stresses the study of party history.

In his speech, Comrade Liang Lingguang said: Our municipality's tasks this year might be summarized in four statements: the economy must be readjusted; politics must be stable; our spirit must be civilized; and Guangzhou must forge ahead. He stressed that while proceeding with our material construction, we must at the same time energetically strengthen the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. He pointed out that those who think that the building of an advanced spiritual civilization means to pay attention only to the function of the spirit and to neglect the role of materials, and who therefore feel concerned that this will mistakenly lead to regarding "the spirit as omnipotent"--this kind of thinking on their part is groundless. In reality, spiritual civilization and "spiritual omnipotence" are two different concepts. "Spiritual omnipotence" is an unlimited exaggeration of the role of the spirit and is indicative of an idealist point of view,

whereas the building of a spiritual civilization is based on socialist economic conditions. Because in the past they have criticized "spiritual omnipotence," some people doubt or even deny the mobilizing effect of the spirit, and they go from one extreme to another, from "spiritual omnipotence" to "monetary omnipotence," thinking that once one has money one can solve all problems; they advocate the use of economic means in all cases and the ignoring of the building of a spiritual civilization; and they also ignore ideological and political work. This view is harmful; it will lead to the rise of an erroneous tendency of "looking up to money."

In his speech, Comrade Liang Lingguang stressed that we must strengthen our theoretical study. In respect to the vast ranks of our cadres, there is the question of studying anew. From the party's history and experience, we can see that political correctness is predicated upon theoretical correctness; political clear-headedness is predicted upon theoretical clear-headedness. Without theory, we would be liable to fall victim to blindness, we would fail to achieve a profound understanding of the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and we would not be able to be so effective when we carry them out. In the meantime, without theory we would also be unable to correctly sum up the historical experience since the founding of our state. The important reason why "leftist" tendencies repeatedly emerged and could not be overcome was that we were not clear about our theory; we could not make a clear distinction between what is correct and what is erroneous, what is "leftist" and what is rightist; we criticized Marxism as if it were revisionism; we took "leftist" things as being correct and incorrect things as being rightist. This confusion in theory made it impossible for us to cast off "leftist" influence for a long time. This not only endangered the cause of the party but also left traces in varying degrees among some of our comrades. This was an important reason why some comrades lacked sufficient understanding of the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Only by studying theory well can we avoid falling victim to blindness, master the key to the solution of practical problems, and accomplish the great tasks of the new era.

Comrade Liang Lingguang also emphasized study by cadres and the question of party school construction hereafter. He said: On 1 February this year the central Propaganda Department and Organization Department held a telephone conference on Educational Work for Cadres of the Whole Country to demand the general allocation of a period of 5 years or so to make it possible for those comrades who can study theory to study again Marxist philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism. This is capital construction in the ideological realm which requires a long-range plan. The party school of the municipal party committee must play the role of a base in this task. He proposed that starting with the next training class, apart from sending students to study at the party school according to plan, each front should be taken as a unit in running a branch (or rotational training class) of the party school of their own. The teaching plans of these units should be uniform; the opening of their classes, lectures, examinations, and the commencement of these classes should likewise be uniform in schedule. The organization of teaching should be undertaken by each front respectively to insure the serious study of "Study Marx's Theory on Reproduction," "A Selected Collection of the Draft Articles of Comrade Chen Yun," and Comrade Xue Muqiao's "Study of Problems in China's Socialist Economy," etc. Principal leading cadres at various levels should take the lead in

participating in the study and seriously study well on their own part in the first place. The various units must arrange the lists of different groups of cadres for rotational training. In this period of 5 years or so, there must also be a plan for professional study, to make it possible for the vast ranks of the cadres also to participate in it.

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CSO: 4005/567

PARTY AND STATE

DIFFERENCES IN CAPITALIST, SOCIALIST CIVILIZATIONS ANALYZED

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 81 p 2

[Article: "Two Entirely Different Kinds of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Excerpt] Human society has developed from an uncivilized to a civilized society. However, there are fundamental differences between the capitalist and the socialist civilizations. An article by Comrade Zhou Jinwei [0719 6930 1414] recently published in the WEN HUI BAO of Shanghai expounds on this.

The capitalist class prefers to call capitalist society the "civilized world." Regarding this, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis. We recognize that there is a higher level of material civilization in the capitalist developed countries, but it has been built by exploiting the labor of the workers. The scientific technology mastered by the capitalist class and its intellectuals is the common property of mankind in their struggle with nature. The civilization of the capitalist society has its essence which belongs to all the people. As far as the ideology, belief, and morality of the capitalist class are concerned, generally speaking, when the capitalist class stood together with the people to struggle against feudalism, it was progressive. In daily social life, the capitalist class also behaves in a civilized manner. However, from an overall, essential point of view, this class is not so civilized. The capitalist class rapaciously extorts the residual value of the workers and ruthlessly wages struggle against their fellow traders. No matter how polite the capitalist class may be in social contacts, each member is trying to cheat or outwit the other and is extremely selfish fundamentally. In that society, moral dejection, murder, stealing, drug taking and suicide are commonplace. Beneath the material civilization, both moral and spiritual crises take place. This contradiction between material civilization and spiritual crisis is the specific manifestation of the capitalist society which the capitalist system can never overcome.

Socialist modernization is designed to construct a socialist spiritual civilization to a great extent hand in hand with the construction of high-level material civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization has inherited the achievements of the spiritual production of human beings of the past. However, this inheritance has certain characteristics which are different from those of material production. The scientific and cultural knowledge as well as the laws and other elements of spiritual civilization are inherited and drawn from a part of the useful inheritance left to us by history.

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CSO: 4005/555

PARTY AND STATE

' FIVE-EMPHASIS,' ' FOUR-BEAUTIFUL' ACTIVITIES LAUNCHED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Mar 81 p 1

[Report: "Launch 'Five-Emphasis' and 'Four-Beautiful' Activities, Build Socialist Spiritual Civilization--Provincial Head Office of Trade Unions, Youth Corps Committee, Association of Women, Federation of Cultural Workers, Patriotic Sanitation Movement Committee, and Federation of Students Issue Proposal That the Vast Ranks of Staff and Employees, Youths and Children in Our Province Take Action To Foster Habit of Putting Emphasis on Civility and Courtesy"]

[Text] The provincial head office of trade unions, the Youth Corps committee, Association of Women, Federation of Cultural Workers, Patriotic Sanitation Movement Committee, and Federation of Students recently issued a proposal to respond to the launching of "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" activities. The full text of the proposal is as follows:

The launching of the "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" civility and courtesy activities sponsored jointly on 25 February by the national head office of trade unions, the central office of the Communist Youth Corps, the All-China Association of Women, the China Federation of Cultural Workers, the Central Patriotic Sanitation Movement Committee, the All-China Federation of Students, the All-China Ethics Association, the China Linguistics Association, and the National Esthetics Association of China, with emphasis on civility, courtesy, sanitation, order and morality and on beautiful soul, beautiful language, beautiful behavior and beautiful environment as relevant, is an important project of work in the building of socialist spiritual civilization at present; it is of great significance to the maintenance of our social stability and unity, restoration and development of our fine social customs, promotion of the healthy growth of our youths and children, and the efforts to effect a fundamental change in our urban and rural social customs and moral outlook and to do a good job in handling the construction of our socialist modernization.

Staff and workers and the vast ranks of youths and children of various nationalities in our province must actively respond to the proposal of the nine units headed by the national head office of trade unions in order to do a solid job of launching these "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" activities and make their own contributions to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. At present, we must handle well the following tasks:

1. Fully utilize various instruments and forums of propaganda, energetically propagate the contents of the "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" activities and the great significance in launching them, so that the whole society will rise to put emphasis on civility and courtesy, and create an atmosphere under which everybody feels responsible for putting emphasis on civility and courtesy and hence wishes to begin with himself and to begin right now.
2. Take positive action and conscientiously put into effect the spirit of the proposal. We must proceed from the actual conditions of various trades and professions in order to make activities of civility and courtesy concrete and customary. We must mobilize the masses to formulate a common covenant or regulations on civility and courtesy and continue to perfect and improve them until they gradually become conscious conduct.
3. Exalt the advanced and establish models. Through forms such as commendation meetings, public lectures, literary works and literary and artistic performances, we must propagate the good people and good things that have emerged from the civility and courtesy activities with great fanfare, earnestly sum up our experience and spread it in a timely way.
4. Under the unified leadership of party committees at various levels and according to the requirements of the proposal by the nine units headed by the national head office of trade unions, the trade unions, Communist Youth Corps, Association of Women, Federation of Cultural Workers, Patriotic and Sanitation Movement Committee and Federation of Students at various levels must grasp well the work for which they are respectively responsible. The "Learn from Lai Feng and establish a new workstyle," "Strive to become shock workers in the new Long March," "Create the three goods," patriotic sanitation, "Obey discipline and abide by the law, be civilized and productive," "Be civilized in commerce, be courteous to customers," and "five-good families" activities already launched must be combined with these "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" activities. We must set civility and courtesy as an important condition in the appraisal of an advanced producer, a labor model, a shock worker in the new Long March, a red-banner pacesetter predicated on the Three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention, a three-good student, a model teacher and a fine pioneer.

Let us take positive action to struggle earnestly to take over and develop the fine traditions of the Chinese people and the building of an advanced socialist spiritual civilization, for the realization of further readjustment in our economy and further stability in our politics, and for the construction of our four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/568

PARTY AND STATE

TEACHING OF SOCIALIST MORALITY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Guan Chenghua [1351 2052 5478]: "Strengthen Communist Moral Education"]

[Text] In trying to realize the four modernizations, we intend to build a socialist power with an advanced material civilization and advanced spiritual civilization. And the strengthening of communist moral education and heightening of the socialist moral level is an important relevant component in the building of an advanced spiritual civilization.

Morality as a social ideology is a reflection of the social economic base and in turn acts on the economic base; it serves a definite social system. In the late period of slave system in our history, Confucius, a political activist at the time, in order to maintain the then collapsing slave system summed up an all-inclusive concept of "benevolence" as a moral principle, propagating "self-discipline and return to the rules of propriety so that the whole country would submit to benevolence." He wanted to subscribe to the criterion that "a determined man or a man of benevolence would rather sacrifice his life in order to preserve his virtue of benevolence than to preserve his life at the expense of benevolence." Confucius' view of morality ran counter to the direction of social development at the time; along with the gradual growth and expansion of the forces of feudalism, his set of old concepts increasingly lacked a market. By the time of the feudal society, the rulers, in order to maintain their political system, adopted the aspect of Confucius' moral principles beneficial to them and discarded that aspect disadvantageous to them; they established the moral concepts of the "three cardinal guides" (ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife) and "five constant virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity). Even though one feudal dynasty replaced another in our history, these concepts were inherited by dynasty after dynasty and became the ideological foundation of our entire feudal rule. Up to the period of the Guomindang's reactionary rule, new contents were once more imparted into this set of concepts, which was painted as semifeudal and semicolonial; the so-called "propriety, righteousness, honesty and sense of shame" then were really the fig leaf for thieves and whores, as efforts were continually made to hoodwink and poison the people. As for the capitalist society, its system is still one of man exploiting man; "egotism" becomes the core of bourgeois ethics and morality, and the so-called conviction that "unless a man looks out for himself, Heaven and earth will destroy him" becomes the credo of life in a capitalist society.

Apart from benefiting oneself at the expense of others, there can be no capitalist society. After liberation, we established a socialist system; people's individual interests and the interests of society have become consistent; the moral concept of this system is to work for the interests of the people and struggle for the material interests of all the people. Hence, the socialist system needs to continually cleanse away the remnants of feudalism and capitalist morality in people's minds, and at the same time foster new moral qualities in the people. In our long period of antifeudal and antiimperialist struggles, we Chinese people have created many civilized traditions and virtues long praised by domestic and foreign circles alike. These virtues have been further developed since the founding of new China. We all still remember that from the beginning of the founding of our state up to the 1950's, virtues like love for the motherland, love for the people, love of state property, upholding public order, respect for the old and love for the young, dedication to public interests at the expense of private interests, honesty and simplicity all contributed to a new atmosphere and became the norms for people's behavior. The result was that the people's spirits were raised, production increased rapidly, and the economy prospered.

However, it was heart-rending to see that during the 10-year catastrophe these civilized and moral traditions, revolutionary traditions were all severely trampled upon, moral concepts of good and bad, beauty and ugliness, justice and injustice were all mixed up, the normal work order in production and order in society were destroyed, social customs became degenerate, and the people's spiritual world was subject to serious erosion and contamination. At the same time, industrial and agricultural production in the material realm was also subject to serious sabotage, and the national economy was on the brink of collapse. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed social morals and also played havoc with the development of production; this was witnessed by everyone.

Lenin pointed out that morality can help human society rise to a higher level. At present, if we endeavor to build an advanced spiritual civilization under new historical conditions, we must bring into full play our revolutionary traditions and the civilized traditions of the Chinese people and energetically strengthen communist moral education. Insofar as the entire society is concerned, only with good moral habits can there be a social situation of stability and unity, and only thus can the people work on the four modernizations with one heart and one mind and insure the smooth progress of economic readjustment and construction of the four modernizations. As for each individual, only by fostering good moral qualities can he cast off lowclass interests, establish noble sentiments, and become a pure person. Some ask: If we put emphasis on morality, are we to give up individual interests? No, carrying out moral education cannot deny individual interests; but we must resolutely oppose bourgeois "egotism" and oppose "monetary omnipotence." If we pay attention only to material enjoyment and fail to promote healthy spiritual life, then the phenomenon of a material civilization being accompanied by moral crises like that in the capitalist countries is bound to emerge among us. In putting emphasis on morality, what we emphasize is subordinating individual interests to the overall interests of the people, fostering the spirit of strict discipline and self-sacrifice, the spirit of selflessness and putting the interests of others ahead of one's own, the spirit of "dedicating oneself to the interests of others, with no thought of one's self" and of wholehearted service to the people, etc. We must

have the courage to struggle against old moral concepts and all immoral words and deeds and protect the dignity of communist morality. At the same time, in our attempt to establish new, good moral habits, we must rely on everyone "beginning with oneself" and consciously reforming our own world view. If every Communist Party member and Communist Youth Corps member takes the lead in putting emphasis on communist morality and exercises his influence upon the masses with his own exemplary conduct, we will surely be able to lead the entire social atmosphere in the right direction and bring about the new atmosphere of a brand new generation.

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CSO: 4005/568

PARTY AND STATE

PROPAGANDA IN SUPPORT OF LEGAL SYSTEM STRESSED

Fuzhou FUZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Conscientiously Promote Carrying Out the Legal System Well"]

[Text] Our country's socialist legal system has already been built up to the extent that we have reached the new historical stage of a country ruled by law, and propaganda in support of our legal system is obviously becoming increasingly important. It is of great significance as regards the development of socialist democracy, protecting public order, consolidation and development of a state of political stability and unity, and the realization of the four modernizations.

Promotion of the legal system is part of the propaganda work of the party; it is one aspect of the work of strengthening the political ideology and is also one of the normal important tasks of judicial authorities at all levels. The function of the judicial organs is not only to punish criminals, but also to educate the masses to give them a better concept of the legal system, and to build up the social custom to regard law-abiding conduct as honorable and to regard breaking the law as something shameful. Launching propaganda on behalf of the legal system, imparting rudimentary education to those who are ignorant of the legal system, warning unlawful elements of the existence of the arm of the law so they will not dare to defy the law, creating a public opinion that will condemn at the same time as legal sanctions are imposed—all these efforts will be extremely important to prevent and reduce crime and to build up a socialist spiritual culture. A viewpoint that regards propaganda in support of the legal system as nonessential and unimportant is as groundless as it is mistaken.

At present we must effectively propagate the legal system in a wide and penetrating way, and thus protect and develop the state of political stability and unity and guarantee the smooth progress of further readjustments in our national economy. In launching propaganda in support of the legal system, we must actively and convincingly propagate support for the four basic principles. We must continue to exert great effort to propagate the various laws enacted by the Fifth National People's Congress, in particular the Criminal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the new Marriage Law. Using the law as our weapon, we must resolutely fight all forces destructive to our stability and unity, continue to criticize and oppose the vestiges of feudalism, resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, resolutely criticize and oppose anarchism, individualism, bourgeois liberalization, and other such mistaken ideologies which are apt to destroy our stability and unity. We must combine the consolidation of public security in city

and countryside with public trials, and must emphatically propagate the justice and necessity of enforcing dictatorship over counterrevolutionaries and criminal elements that seriously threaten our public order. We must strengthen the education of the masses, especially of the youths, in political ideology and concerning the legal system. We must launch activities to build up a socialist spiritual culture that has the "five discussions" and the "four beautifuls" as its main content.

The party committees everywhere must strengthen their leadership over propaganda in support of the legal system and make it an important item on their agenda. The people's courts at all levels and the judicial administrative organs must clearly understand that the propaganda in support of the legal system is a part of their unshirkable official responsibilities. It must be thoroughly examined and studied, starting from the realities of the local situation. It must be closely coordinated, actively and on one's own accord, with all the other relevant departments with a view to the greater effectiveness of all the work concerned with the propaganda in support of the legal system.

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C50: 4005/563

PARTY AND STATE

IMPROVEMENT OF PROPAGANDA WORK AMONG CADRES, MASSES URGED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthening Ideological and Political Work Is an Important Guarantee of Economic Readjustment and Political Stability"]

[Text] To better implement the spirit of the Party Central Committee's work conference, the CCP Tianjin Municipal Committee recently held a propaganda work conference of the whole municipality and, on the basis of having summed up the municipality's propaganda work after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, studied in particular how to strengthen in a practical way the ideological political work of the whole party and improve propaganda work, with a view to meeting the requirements of the present economic and political situation. It also defined the tasks of propaganda work in 1981. Party organs at all levels were asked to seriously implement the spirit of this conference and to grasp ideological political work in a down-to-earth manner.

The line, principles, and policies laid down by the Party Central Committee after its Third Plenary Session are entirely correct and effective in practice, and the broad cadres and people have endorsed them. The situation in our municipality, just as in the whole country, is very good; such a fine situation has seldom been seen since the founding of the People's Republic. However, we must soberly observe that there are still difficulties in our economy, and that there are still potential dangers. Politically, some factors of unrest are also in hiding. Therefore, strengthening ideological political work and improving propaganda work have become extremely important tasks confronting all comrades of our party in order to guarantee the successful completion of economic readjustment and to consolidate and develop a political situation of stability and unity.

At present, on the ideological front of our municipality, we should seriously solve the following problems:

First of all, to guarantee the implementation of the important policy defined at the Central Work Conference--to make a further readjustment of economy and to achieve further political stability--we must vigorously grasp the study of the party's line, principles, and policies, and particularly we must study the documents of the Central Work Conference. At present, all cadres and the masses of workers and the staffs of our municipality are studying these documents. From their study in the previous period, the broad cadres and the masses have enhanced their understanding, received encouragement, and strengthened their faith. The progress of their study is still

not very uniform, however, and their understanding of the spirit of these documents is still not profound and not thorough enough. For instance, in the view some comrades have of the current economic situation and political situation, there is no clear distinction between the principal aspects and the secondary aspects or between appearances and reality, and there are still certain lopsided views and pessimism. Other comrades still see problems in a "leftist" perspective, and they still have certain negative ideas about readjusting and stabilizing the economy. Still other comrades continue to show their worries and doubts. Therefore, party committees at all levels should carefully guard against and correct such study tendencies as being satisfied with a smattering of the subject and impetuosity without concentration, or repeating what the documents say without applying them to real situations. They should further organize the cadres and the masses of workers and the staffs to penetratingly study the documents of the Central Work Conference, seriously do a good job in the study of specific subjects and discussion, and strive to apply them to real situations and to the solution of problems. They should also conduct thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological work, overcome the influence of "left" thinking, eliminate serious misunderstanding and misgivings, and help the broad cadres and masses reach a common understanding of the party's line, principles, and policies. Here the most important thing is that all comrades of the party, and especially the leading cadres at all levels, should be taught to unconditionally maintain political unanimity with the Party Central Committee; they should never be permitted to treat the party's line, principles, and policies halfheartedly, to feign compliance, or to engage in double-dealing. If this cannot be done, then there will be no guarantee for the whole party to think unanimously and to act in unison, the people will not be able to be of one heart and one mind, and there will be no guarantee of economic readjustment and political stability.

Secondly, we must penetratingly and extensively conduct propaganda and education of the four basic principles among the broad masses--especially among the young people. We must help all comrades profoundly understand that the four basic principles are the roots of the founding of the People's Republic of China wherein the fundamental interests of all people of the country lie. Whether or not we can persist in the four basic principles has a bearing on the future and destiny of our party and our country. We should also help all of them to truly understand that persisting in the four basic principles reflects the objective law of social development, which is the will of the people, an inevitable outcome of history, and a truth repeatedly testified by long practice. We should again further criticize deeply Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for seriously distorting and undermining the four basic principles, and we should completely eliminate their evil influence. At the same time, by conducting penetrating study and discussion, we should guide all comrades to draw a line of distinction between mistakes in work which have prevented us from bringing into full play the superiority of our socialist system and the great superiority of our socialist system, between certain malpractices of the leadership of our party and government (the Party Central Committee has taken or is taking measures to correct these malpractices) and the rationality and justice of people's democratic dictatorship, which is proletarian dictatorship, and between certain setbacks which our revolution and construction have suffered because of our deviation from and violation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and especially to guard seriously against such extremely dangerous tendencies as exaggerating certain shortcomings and mistakes which our party has corrected or is correcting, and rejecting or opposing the leadership of our party.

We must conduct education and criticism as well as the necessary struggles against any wrong tendencies within and outside the party that try to weaken, shake off, abolish, or oppose the leadership of our party.

Thirdly, we must give wide publicity to communist thinking and communist morality and build a spiritual civilization of socialism. We must teach all comrades of our party, and especially the leading comrades at all levels, to take the lead in encouraging communist morality, firmly establishing the thought of serving the people heart and soul, holding ourselves responsible to the people and dedicating our lives to the struggle for communism, carrying forward the spirit of being selfless, serving the interests of the whole, fighting amid hardships, and being honest in performing our official duties, as well as to wage resolute struggles against all acts that undermine party style. Among the broad cadres and masses, we should promote and commend the spirit of risking one's life for the revolution, doing nothing for oneself but doing everything for others, strictly following discipline, sacrificing oneself, fearing neither hardships nor death, suppressing all enemies, and overcoming every difficulty. At the same time, we should criticize and oppose decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie such as benefiting oneself at the expense of others, being intent on nothing but profit, doing everything for the sake of money, and idling away one's time in seeking pleasure. We should criticize and oppose the thoughts of ultra-individualism and anarchism. All Communist Party members, Communist Youth League members and cadres, and in particular the leading cadres at all levels should set a good example in their own conduct, use their own exemplary actions to popularize the communist spirit and communist morality among all the people and all young people, and continuously raise the moral standards of society as a whole.

Fourthly, newspapers and periodicals, press releases, radiobroadcasts, and television are important weapons of our party in conducting ideological and political work. We must bring their role into full play. In recent years, under the leadership of the party committees at all levels, they have done a great deal of work with remarkable success in propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, in giving publicity to the party's line, principles, and policies, and in emancipating the mind and bringing order out of chaos, and they have made great contributions to the cause of the party. However, there are still some very serious shortcomings. At present, in order to add to our achievements and overcome our shortcomings in order to do still better in future struggles, we must carry out propaganda in strict accordance with the party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. We must raise the level of our political consciousness of holding firmly to the four basic principles, and we must effectively refute ideas and statements which throw doubt upon or vilify the four basic principles. We must give wide publicity to the high spiritual civilization of building socialism, criticize and oppose various remaining influences of feudalism in the ideological and political fields inside and outside our party, and resist the corrosive influence of decadent bourgeois ideology. We must carry on the fine tradition of our party's newspapers and periodicals, press releases, radiobroadcasts, and television in maintaining links with the masses, in seeking truth from facts, in having a clear-cut stand, in adhering to truth and accuracy, and in showing themselves full of life and vigor. In light of the present attitude of mind among the cadres and masses, we must organize personnel to write articles and reports which should be to the point and very convincing, and we must enhance the people's socialist consciousness and their faith in achieving the four modernizations.

Furthermore, it is the same in the work of culture and art. We must adhere to the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism, correctly carry out the policy of letting "a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," correctly understand and depict this new era of ours, and energetically produce a greater number of fine works which will inspire the people's enthusiasm, enhance the morale of the masses and strengthen their faith and courage, and enrich the cultural life of the people.

In conclusion, we must effectively strengthen the party's extensive, thoroughgoing, and painstaking ideological and political work, do our propaganda work well and in a down-to-earth manner, and truly turn this [work] into a useful guarantee for consolidating and further advancing our municipality's political situation of stability and unity and successfully carrying out economic readjustment.

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CSO: 4005/544

PARTY AND STATE

'WEN HUI BAO' INITIATES COLUMN ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 21 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Lao Pu [0525 2090] and Xiao Qian [5135 0467]: "We Must Set Forth the Contradictions in Current Ideological Work"]

[Text] Editor's Note: A news story, "He Is a Pan of Fire," published in this newspaper on 17 March, has evoked strong repercussions among our readers. People are widely moved by the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Liu Xiangding [0491 4382 7307], who holds himself responsible to the party and the people to a great extent. Many readers pointed out in their letters: Now, when we are living at the time of a vital historic turning point, the people's thinking is widely diversified and ideological confusion is hard to avoid. We are therefore badly in need of thousands upon thousands of political work cadres such as Comrade Liu Xiangding.

A large area can be lit up by lighting a lamp. This is an adage which people often use as an example of the function of political-ideological work. It sounds very reasonable. Political cadres are, on the one hand, builders of socialist spiritual civilization, and, on the other hand, men of action in the construction of the four modernizations. The light and warmth generated by a political work cadre who is loyal and dedicated to the cause of the party can illuminate our hearts, raise our morale, and heighten our awareness. However, some of our comrades do not have sufficient understanding of this. They even go as far as to despise political-ideological work. Two of our readers, Comrades Lao Pu and Xiao Qian, suggested that this newspaper initiate a discussion of the deeds of Liu Xiangding. We have accepted this suggestion and decided to start a special column, "A Discussion on the News Story 'He Is a Pan of Fire'--Polemics Regarding the Question of Enhancement of Political-Ideological Work," to launch a discussion of various questions such as the role and function of political-ideological work in this new era, how to deal with contradictions encountered in ideological work, how the political work cadres act as intimates of the masses, and

finally the quality and accomplishment of the political work cadres. It is hoped that vast numbers of political work cadres and comrades on all fronts will enthusiastically join this polemic by writing articles which will combine ideology with practical work on the basis of considering something as it stands.

Dear Comrade Editor:

After reading the news story "He Is a Pan of Fire," carried in your newspaper on 17 March, we are deeply moved by the communist ideology of Comrade Liu Xiangding who advocates revolution first, work first, and others first. From this we can see further the immense strength of political-ideological work. We are engaged in youth work. In practice, we feel deeply that the youths are badly in need of intimate friends such as Comrade Liu Xiangding! However, at present, people do not all have an identical understanding of such important work. The political-ideological work carried out by some units appears to be weak and incompetent. As we see it, the following are some outstanding questions:

First, there is not sufficient understanding of the role and function of political-ideological work in this new era. In the past, under the influence of the "leftist" ideology, it was a fundamental mistake to unilaterally exaggerate ideological effect and to despise technical work. However, public opinion in society at present says that since the focus is on economic construction, therefore political-ideological work is not indispensable, thus bringing about a situation where people despise political-ideological work. As a result, the political-ideological work of a few units has not been properly guided by any requirement, time limit, stand or system.

Second, there is not sufficient self-awareness in implementing the principle of communication. For a long time, some of our comrades, under the pernicious "leftist" influence, have continued to commit the mistake of oversimplifying in carrying out ideological work. They are accustomed to adopt the method of obstructing things. By so doing, it is not only impossible to achieve good results, but on the contrary it makes people believe that they should keep the comrades engaged in ideological work at a distance, or even feel repugnance toward them. In such a situation, it is not only impossible to solve problems, but on the contrary contradictions will be intensified.

Third, there is a lack of the feeling of doing good for others in carrying out political-ideological work. Our party has rich experience in political-ideological work, and one of its merits is that the party cares for the masses. The hearts of the masses are linked with ours. The masses are very happy to receive education and help. However, at present, there are comrades who do not adhere to this fine tradition. When carrying out their work, they often do not have an understanding of the people, nor do they respect them or treat them on the basis of equality, thus making it impossible to persuade people through affection or to enlighten them by reasoning. As a result, often ideological work cannot strike a chord in the hearts of the people.

Fourth, there is a need for the political work cadres to further improve themselves. Great changes have taken place in the contents and targets of our

ideological work, but our theoretical and cultural accomplishments are not fully adapted to the requirements of the new situation. For instance, the main target of our ideological work is youth, while a great number of them are very actively thinking. They have a wide range of knowledge and are accustomed to think deeply. But we, on the contrary, do not have a wide field of vision ourselves. Nowadays it is necessary for our ideological work to penetrate into professional as well as technical work, but we are not very familiar with that. It is why there is a lack of a common language. If the political work cadres do not make an effort to improve themselves, they will not be competent in their current tasks.

Strengthening of political-ideological work is a strong guarantee for implementing further economic readjustment and further political stability. The advanced deeds of Comrade Liu Xiangding introduced by WEN HUI BAO will help promote the strengthening of political-ideological work. However, for the purpose of resolving the problems existing in our current political-ideological work, it is still not enough just to carry out propaganda such as this. For this reason, we suggest that this newspaper launch a discussion on questions such as: How can the proper stand and function of political-ideological work be recognized? As builders of a spiritual civilization, what kind of spiritual style and cultural accomplishment should the political cadres themselves have? How can formalism be overcome and the pernicious "leftist" influence be eliminated by political-ideological work so that it can be carried out by facing real contradictions and by emphasizing results. The method of discussion can be put this way: We can first set forth the contradictions in current ideological work and then center our discussions and probes on the contradictions to improve our understanding and to unify our ideology in order to carry forward the fine tradition of the party and to create new experiences in the situation of the new era so that we can do even better political-ideological work.

[signed] Lao Pu
Xiao Qian

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PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST SMUGGLING EMPHASIZED IN FUZHOU

Fuzhou FUZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Carry Out to the End the Struggle Against Smuggling"]

[Text] A determined attack against smuggling operations is an important task facing party committees and government at all levels and the broad masses of cadres of the entire province. This is urgently necessary in order to insure the smooth progress of our economic readjustment, to protect the state of political stability and unity, and to further carry out certain policies of a special nature.

Since the latter part of last year, smuggling operations have been rampant all along the coast of our province. Smugglers from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan not only used all kinds of methods to smuggle goods into the ports of our province, evading all controls by our customs agencies, but also sent a large number of ships into our ports in smuggling operations on a large scale. They work in collusion with smugglers, receivers, and speculators on the mainland, secretly shipping out large amounts of gold, silver, cultural objects, and valuable medicinal substances, and in return dump here wholesale large quantities of second-rate goods unsalable in foreign markets, or even imitations and falsified and adulterated materials. The smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods not only destroys the state's control of foreign trade, resulting in huge economic losses to the state, but also seriously threatens public security and corrodes the morale of our cadres and people. In all areas where smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods is a serious problem, good farmland lies waste, commune enterprises have ceased operations, fishing is neglected, and large numbers of people, especially youths, are seduced into taking part in the buying and selling of smuggled goods. Their minds are being poisoned, and many a weakwilled cadre has succumbed to sugar-coated bullets. Crimes such as robbery, fighting, and murder are attendant phenomena. We must fully take into account the huge damage that these smuggling activities inflict in economic, political, and ideological respects.

Smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods are international phenomena. As long as capitalism exists, it will attack us by such means as smuggling and dumping. Especially Fujian Province, which is situated opposite Taiwan and close to Hong Kong and Macao and which is implementing special policies and flexible measures for foreign economic activities, is prone to being taken advantage of by lawless elements, as it offers such a good opportunity for smuggling. In Fujian Province a long-term struggle will therefore take place between smuggling and antismuggling, between corroding influences and countermeasures. It will be one aspect of the

class struggle during the socialist era. It is not only a serious economic struggle, but also a serious political struggle. The essence of the struggle will be whether to uphold the authority of the state and of the socialist system. The Chinese people, imbued with lofty aspirations, must display their patriotism in protecting the interests of the state by not buying or selling smuggled goods, and must courageously struggle against smuggling activities.

"Are we not to develop economic contacts with foreign countries?" Certainly; under the preconditions of maintaining our independence, keeping the initiative in our hands, and maintaining self-reliance, and under the further preconditions of equality and mutual benefits and no injury to our country's sovereign rights, we intend to carry out special policies and flexible methods in strengthening our dealings with countries across the sea. These special policies are advantageous to the socialist construction and are fixed policies of ours. However, smuggling is an illegal activity; it evades the supervision and control of the customs authorities, it evades customs duty, does serious damage to the sovereign rights and interests of the state, and is something quite different from normal economic relations with foreign countries. Allowing it to continue unchecked would only disturb and ruin regular trade relations. Our present resolute fight against all smuggling activities is precisely the action that will benefit the implementation of our special policies and will also benefit normal economic contacts with friendly countries and such places as Hong Kong and Macao.

"Are we not to trade with Taiwan?" Certainly; we are determined to respond to the call of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to take up postal, trade and shipping relations with Taiwan, and the matter of trading with Taiwan is already being taken in hand and carried out. From now on, Taiwan fishermen and merchants are welcomed by us and treated with courtesy if they wish to bring their products or goods for trade, as long as the goods they offer are items we need and are delivered to the state at places determined by us and according to prescribed procedures for purchase or trade. This will be advantageous to the economic development of our province and for the return of Taiwan to the fatherland. If export controls are evaded by trading at sea, that is not trade but an act of smuggling, and will of course be dealt with as smuggling.

"Do we not advocate prosperity for some in advance of others?" Certainly; we have proposed to allow certain localities and certain sections of the population to gain prosperity in advance of others. This was done to counter the past policy of "eating out of one big pot" and the past principle of egalitarianism in distribution, and to take into consideration certain inequalities in economic, natural, and other such conditions in different localities. This was proposed in order to spur people on to greater effort in production, to bring into full play certain superiorities, to speed up the development of production, and to improve the well-being of the people. If we advocate prosperity for some in advance of others, such prosperity must always be gained through labor and through taking the socialist road. We have always opposed prosperity being gained by inflicting losses on the state, by harming the collective or anyone else's interests, or through crooked and dishonest practices. Smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, speculating and profiteering, damaging the interests of the state and the nation--these are taking the capitalist road. Getting rich in this way is unlawful and shameful, and we will certainly firmly oppose it. In the past, some of the main culprits and habitual offenders of smuggling and profiteering gangs indeed got rich by foul means. We must take appropriate measures as regards such unlawful enrichment

and deal sternly with such cases. We shall definitely not allow them to get away with it. Everybody knows that in the Qing Dynasty, Fuzhou had a national hero called Lin Zexu. He opposed smuggling and dumping of opium by the imperialists of those days, and without fear of threats and unmoved by offers of bribes, he courageously fought British imperialism. Even today this kind of patriotism and national virtue deserves to serve as our example. We children and grandchildren of this Chinese nation must show our lofty determination to build up our still deficient country into a strong and prosperous country by the labor of our two hands. We must certainly abstain from any action that ignores the interests of the state by greedily pursuing small personal advantages.

As a result of the blows that have been inflicted on them for some time, the smugglers and traffickers of smuggled goods in our province have disappeared from view and have gone underground; their activities, formerly concentrated, have now become dispersed. This means, however, that the smugglers have merely changed their methods in their fight against us, and that smuggling activities have not at all been liquidated. The leadership at all levels must take this problem seriously and must fully realize the importance, complex nature and protracted nature of this struggle. They must mobilize the masses on a broad scale, correctly implement our policies, and further improve their leadership and organization in this struggle. Those in leadership positions at all levels along the coast are in the forefront of the struggle and will undoubtedly have to increase their efforts, but those in the hinterland must also not be neglectful. Isn't it precisely in the hinterland where the smugglers collect the large quantities of gold and silver? We must carry out political and socialist education among the broad masses of cadres. Those who have gone wrong and followed the main culprits and habitual criminals of smugglers and profiteers must be educated and urged to "take the load off their consciences" and actively join the fight against smuggling. Cadres at the grassroots level who had participated in smuggling activities, but have now stopped such participation, have made a clear statement to their organization, actively leading the antismuggling struggle and doing a good job in present production, may in general not be prosecuted; even if the problem involved is a major one, leniency may be exercised. Those who have rendered meritorious service in informing against and exposing smuggling activities will be given awards. Cadres in government organizations must strictly observe all the regulations of the government; they must not buy smuggled goods, and any further violation in that respect will be severely punished. All departments of the government, the customs, political and law agencies, industry and trade, business, tax, banking, fishery, communications, and postal authorities, must closely coordinate their efforts. Everything must be subordinated to the aim of helping the attack against smuggling activities. We must overcome the inclination to disregard politics and to wrangle among ourselves, which merely provide the smugglers with loopholes to exploit.

We warn all smugglers and profiteers: under the people's democratic dictatorship you will not be permitted to act wildly in defiance of the law. Our policy is leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse to confess. You must turn over a new leaf, give yourselves up to the authorities, be eager to deserve lenient treatment. If you stubbornly refuse and resist to the end, you will suffer severe punishment according to the law of the land.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MONETARY INCENTIVES IN MILITIA WORK CRITICIZED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 81 p 3

[Report by Su Bin (5685 2430): "Even Militia Work Must Not 'Look Toward Money'"]

[Text] At present in some units there has appeared a reliance on cash rewards and the use of work points to arouse the enthusiasm of the people's militia. For example, some units with a low participation rate in training freely resort to increasing monetary and supplementary incentives. Some militia whose results in training are not ideal are punished by reduction in work points and monetary rewards. This situation requires our attention.

Like the PLA, the people's militia is an armed group that carries out the revolution's political tasks. To deal with various types of problems that arise, our party has always advocated putting the fine traditions of our military and political work forward, justly and forcefully utilizing the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, patiently doing a good job in political and ideological education, establishing high communist ideals, and fostering a high spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism. During the war years, large numbers of militia could selflessly and bravely struggle against the enemy under extremely difficult conditions precisely because our party persevered in imbuing them with revolutionary principles. In the new advance toward the four modernizations, it is necessary that we further put forward this fine tradition in order that the militia and party single-heartedly contribute vigor to constructing and safeguarding the four modernizations.

Our emphasis on using Marxist-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and on revolutionary principles to resolve ideological problems of the people's militia does not totally deny the role played by material incentives. For example, pay and wages must be provided and decisions on awards through discussion must be made for the militia who take part in training and perform their duty. Suitable material rewards should be given to those who are advanced. These are necessary and feasible. However, if we exaggerate the role of monetary and material incentives to an unacceptable extent, act according to the saying that "heavy rewards are bound to give rise to brave men," and use monetary rewards and work points instead of resolving the ideological problems of the militia, we will in reality turn from the belief that the "spirit is all-powerful" to "money is all-powerful."

The purpose of doing a good job in the ideological work of the militia is not solely to complete a certain training or production task. Most important of all, we must

imbue the people's militia with Marxist-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and foster their becoming protectors of the state with ideals, morality, and relatively high military attainment. Man's words and deeds are ultimately conditioned and governed by ideology. Only with correct mentality can action become conscious and enthusiasm be prolonged. In the war of self-defense and resistance against Vietnam, large numbers of the people's militia performed numerous heroic deeds, all of which were the results of education and nurturing during ordinary times. Revolutionary spirit and high quality and daring to sacrifice oneself for the safety of the motherland and the welfare of the people can in no way be bought by any amount of money. If we do not recognize this and only pursue immediate benefits by solely using military rewards to arouse the enthusiasm of the militia, it will in time cause them to "look toward money." This will appear to promote work but will actually turn them into self-serving servants who work only for money. In case of war, they would not be able to shoulder the heavy burden of the party and the people.

At present, following the deepgoing construction of the four modernizations, contradictions in the work of the militia are truly numerous and their actual mentality is relatively complex. All levels of party committees and the people's armed forces departments should have a correct understanding of this and should keep a sober attitude in dealing with it. Recently, the General Political Department issued a special notice to strengthen the political education of the militia. All units should, in accordance with this spirit, combine the actual circumstances of each unit, summarize the experience of political and ideological education, strengthen the political and ideological education of the militia, and vigorously publicize their new people and new things in order that a new atmosphere will truly appear in the building of the people's militia.

9586

CSO: 4005/562

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SUBMARINE AND SURFACE SHIP COLLIDE

Shanghai HANGHAI [NAVIGATION] in Chinese No 2, 30 Mar 81 p 34

[Article by Yang Haijun [2799 3189 7786]: "To Save His Life"]

[Excerpt] One winter day somewhere in the East China Sea, a tense submarine chasing exercise was under way. Deep beneath the sea, a black submarine quietly approached the "enemy." Inside the submarine, the crewmen were working especially intensely. The sonar operator was watching the target intently and calculating its position precisely. Suddenly, at an order from the commander, the torpedoman pressed the firing button and a torpedo was launched which struck the target. The commander immediately ordered a fast turn to avoid the enemy's search, and the submarine rapidly left its attack location and headed for the deep sea.

On the surface, a transport taking part in the exercise was bringing ammunition and food to the unit according to prearranged plan; it was unaware of the submarine underwater, and the submarine was unaware of the transport. In the submarine, the commander gave the order to surface rapidly. The huge water tanks were emptied by compressed air, and the submarine rapidly rose to the surface when suddenly the sonar operator discovered that a ship was directly above! The commander immediately ordered an emergency dive, but there was no time. With a loud boom, the control center of the submarine struck the transport's keel, a large hole was torn in the steel plates and sea water rushed in and drowned all the personnel in the control center. The stricken submarine sank to the bottom. The rest of the crew immediately closed all of the watertight doors to the control center. They calculated that the ship's oxygen regeneration equipment would last only 24 hours, and that they had to organize an escape immediately. The crew swam out of the submarine one by one through a torpedo tube that was still intact. The submarine was then at a depth of 400 meters, and because there was no protective equipment, their bodies were fully exposed to the high pressure. The nitrogen in their bodies was likely to be brought to a high-pressure nitrogen equilibrium, existing only in a physical state within the body, dissolved in the tissues and blood, so that the body could not use it, thus presenting a hidden danger.

After the accident, a certain naval base immediately organized a rescue effort. The commanding officer ordered all ships carrying out missions at sea to immediately begin emergency rescue activities. An escort vessel was the first

to find members of the submarine crew who had floated to the surface, and the sailors immediately manned lifeboats to rescue them. [Remainder of the article describes emergency decompression treatment given to the rescued crewmen. The entire text of the article can be found in the JPRS CHINA REPORT: Science and Technology.]

B480

CSO: 4005/587

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FEATURES, CHANGES IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION REPORTED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH QUARTERLY] No 3, 1980 in Chinese Oct 80, p 11-17

[Article by Zhu Zhuo [4376 0587]: "On the Rational Distribution of China's Population"]

[Text] Population distribution is a very important aspect of population development. In order to exercise planned control over population development there must be planned, rational population distribution. China is a huge heavily populated socialist nation with great differences in the natural, sociological and economic conditions in each area. In order to quickly implement the four modernizations not only must we make general appeals for population control, we must make studies of the rules of population distribution in order to concretely formulate and implement population policy which suits measures to local conditions. Only in this way can we promote speedy development of the national economy in all districts of China while still guaranteeing the continual improvement of the material and cultural living standards for all people. Because of this, it is of great importance to now investigate China's population distribution and the topic of rational population distribution.

1. The Basic Features of China's Population Distribution

During the early period of National Construction China's population distribution had two obvious features. One such feature was an imbalance of population distribution and the other was a heavy rural population and light urban population, with huge populations in a small number of cities.

The imbalance of the population distribution is shown in the following materials:

(1) A dense population in the east and a sparse population in the west. In 1958 China had a total population of 5.8 hundred million people, 60.5 people per square kilometer. This population density is higher than the United States, Russia and Canada but lower than India and Europe. However, the population was concentrated in the east. According to statistics the 22 provinces, municipalities and regions of

Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hebei, Shandong, Henan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Anhui, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou and Sichuan covered 41 percent of the land in China but contained over 91 percent of the population, with an average as high as 107.8 people per square kilometer. The five provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Shandong and Henan had population densities of over 300 people per square kilometer and certain areas such as southern Jiangsu had a population density of over 600 people per square kilometer, one of the most densely populated regions on earth. In the west the seven provinces and regions of Mongolia, Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Xizang and Yunnan occupied 59 percent of the total land but had only 8.9 percent of the population, a population density of 8.1 people per square kilometer. Mongoliz, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Xizang occupied one half of the total land area but have only 2.6 percent of the population, a population density only slightly over 3 people per square kilometer. The vast deserts, plains and high mountain regions are either sparsely populated or unpopulated.

(2) A high population density in the plains areas and a sparse population density in the mountainous areas. For example, the population density of the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang (Long River) is 500-700 people per square kilometer in the plains areas and no more than 10-50 people in the mountainous areas. In the North China Plains the population density is generally 400-500 people per square kilometer but only 10-50 people per square kilometer in the mountainous regions. Throughout the whole country conditions are such that in the plains, basins, river valleys and open lands the population is dense while the hills and the mountain areas have sparse populations.

(3) The population density of both sides of railways, inland waterways and other transportation routes generally is quite high while it is quite sparse in the areas far removed from lines of transportation.

(4) The situation in nationality distribution is that the Han nationality stands in the majority and is found in all parts of China but primarily concentrated in the eastern portion. The other nationalities total less than 10 percent of the total population and are primarily located in the southwestern and northwestern border provinces and regions.

The actual distribution of urban and rural peoples is as follows.

1. Rural people are in the great majority. In the early Liberation period (1949) the total population of China stood at 5.4 hundred million people with over 89 percent of these people living in the countryside and slightly over 10 percent residing in urban areas.

2. Although there were over 2,000 cities and towns most of these were rural marketplaces. There were very few factory, mining or commercial cities. Most of the cities were of middle or small size with populations under 300,000 people and were located in the eastern

part of the country. 3. A very small number of cities had unusual development with very high concentrations of people. These were located along the seacoast or were commercial ports located along major rivers, for example, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Qingdao and Dalian. The interior lacked any large factory or commercial cities and the border area minority nationality regions not only lacked large cities but also had very few middle or small size cities.

After 30 years of developments China has undergone some changes in population distribution. First, there has been a general increase in the population density of all provinces, municipalities and regions. The national average population density was 60.5 people in 1953, 67.4 people in 1957 and 101.1 people in 1979. This 26 year period shows an increase of 40.6 people per square kilometer, a more than 67 percent over the population density of 1953. All provinces, municipalities and regions, whether in the east or the west, show general population gains. In the 22 provinces, municipalities and regions of the east there was an average of 132.85 people per square kilometer in 1953 and 222.26 people in 1979, an increase of 67.3 percent per square kilometer. In the seven western provinces and regions there were 8.18 people per square kilometer in 1953 and 16.07 people in 1979, an increase of 96.45 percent. There were greater population gains in the west than in the east.

In all provinces and regions there were three types of areas that had specially fast population increases. 1. Huge cities such as Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai. In 1979 these three cities showed population increases over 1953 of 2.4, 1.75 and 0.83 times respectively. Their respective population densities reached 509, 662 and 1952 people per square kilometer. 2. Areas of heavy national construction such as Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Nei Monggol, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hubei, Jiangxi and Guizhou. These places generally had population increases of over 65 percent. Of these the populations of Heilongjiang and Nei Monggol increased by 1.7 and 1.5 times. 3. The border areas having preponderantly national minorities, such as Qinghai, Xinjiang, Yunnan and Guangxi. In these areas the population increases reached over 75 percent, with Qinghai increasing 1.2 times and Xinjiang 1.6 times.

There were three types of areas in which the population increases were rather slow. One type was those areas with already large, dense populations such as Jiangsu, Hebei, Shandong and Sichuan. These areas had population increases under 50 percent. The second was Xizang which had relatively late democratic reforms. The third was in areas with relatively poor natural conditions and slow economic development such as mountainous areas and the Loess plateaus.

Another feature of the last 30 years is that although the urban population has increased nonetheless the rural population increased rapidly and urbanization has been slow. In 1949 the total national urban population was 57.65 million people, only 10.6 percent of the total population. In 1979 the urban population had reached 128.62

million people and the total urban population then reached 13.25 percent of the total national population with a corresponding decrease in the total rural population. Nonetheless, a considerable number of agricultural workers still live among the urban population. For example, a calculation of the agricultural and non-agricultural populations shows that the agricultural population by no means declined and actually increased. In 1949 the national agricultural population stood at 447.26 million people, 82.6 percent of the total national population. By 1979 the agricultural population had reached 813.56 million people, almost 84 percent of the total national population. This shows that the agricultural population had great increases not only in absolute numbers but also in relative numbers. In these 30 years our national population both urban and rural had a net increase of 437.27 million people and of this 16.23 percent was a net increase in the urban population and 83.77 percent was a net increase in the rural population.

There are two factors involved in the urban population increases, natural population increases and mechanical increases. For the last 30 years the urban population increases have primarily been natural increases (over 80 percent) while mechanical increases were slight (less than 20 percent). Research shows that since the founding of the nation, at the very most less than 25 million rural inhabitants became urban inhabitants (other estimates claim this figure is only 12 million people), an average of over 800,000 people per year (according to the calculation of 12 million people this would give an average of 400,000 people per year), which is only 6.5 percent of the net annual rural population increase (or just over 3 percent for the lesser figure).

Looking again at the figures on urban development we see that ever since Liberation developments in industry, commerce, transportation and other aspects of the national economy were accompanied by the appearance of new industrial, mining and commercial cities so that although the number of cities did increase it was not a large increase. In 1953 when the nation began large scale economic construction there already were 166 towns and by 1979 the number was 191 towns, an increase of 25 towns.

In short, from the figures on the increase in urban population and the increase in the number of cities we see that the process of urbanization in China has been quite slow. This is in sharp contrast to the rapid process of urbanization throughout the rest of the world. According to materials from the Population Division of the United Nations Economic and Sociological Affairs Department,¹ between 1970 and 1975 the annual population increase for the whole world was 2.9 percent in the cities and 3.1 percent in the countryside. In 1970 the urban population was 37.5 percent of the total population and in 1975 it was 39.3 percent. In the relatively developed areas the urban population stood at 70 percent of the total and in seven semi-developed areas it was over 27 percent of the total population, while in China the urban population is far below the percentage found in the relatively developed areas it is even lower than that of the semi-developed areas.

Finally, the number of small cities has been reduced while the number of large cities has grown considerably. Although the total number of cities has grown since the founding of the state the number of small cities has nonetheless been reduced while there have been obvious increases in the number of large cities and the number is still increasing. If we say that a small city has a population below 300,000 people, a middle sized city 300-500,000 people, a large city from 500,000 to one million people and a super-city has a population over one million, then a comparison of 1979 with 1953 gives the following results. The number of small cities was reduced from 131 to 95, a reduction of over 34 percent. The number of middle sized cities increased from 10 to 41, over three times the original number. The number of large cities increased from 16 to 36, a 1.25 times increase. The number of super-cities increased from nine to 29, a 2.2 times increase, and of these the number of cities with a population over two million people increased from four to ten, a 1.5 times increase. The large and middle sized cities showed a combined increase from 36 to 106, more than double the original number. This shows that urban developments in China are taking on an increasingly abnormal pattern. The distribution of cities shows that because there are very few cities, the number of small cities is being reduced and the number of large cities is increasing there is then a tendency for the urban population to concentrate in large and middle sized cities. In the market towns, for example, between 1953 and 1978 the total population of the 30 large cities with over one million inhabitants had population increases of 1.74 times while the market towns as a whole had a population increase of only 1.2 times. Since 1959 the population of market towns has increased by only 300,000 people while the large cities with populations over one million inhabitants have increased their populations by 12.61 million people since 1965. The reason is that the population of the small cities is continually decreasing. Right now the 30 large cities with populations over one million already have half again as many people as the total population of the nation's market towns. If a large city is calculated as having over 500,000 people then over 60 percent of the urban population lives in such cities. This points out that the population of large cities is becoming more and more concentrated and that the pattern of large cities is becoming ever larger. For example, the population of Shanghai municipality is 1.17 times larger than the time of Liberation while the urban population has increased 30 percent and the urban area has approximately doubled. The population of Beijing municipality has more than tripled while the urban population has increased 1.5 times and the urban area has increased by 1.67 times. The population of Tianjin municipality has increased by over 80 percent while the downtown area had a 56 percent population increase and the urban area more than doubled. Other already large cities such as Guangzhou, Nanjing, Wuhan, Chongqing, Chengdu and Shenyang all had multiple population increases and doubling or even tripling of the urban area. Even such small cities as Baotou and Lanzhou which had populations of 20 to 30,000 people became large cities with populations over one million.

According to the above conditions we see that although our demography has undergone relatively great changes over the last 30 years nonetheless there has been no fundamental transformation of the irrational imbalance in our population distribution. This reflects the backwardness found in our low-level of industrialization and the imbalance of local economic development. In some respects the population distribution has become even less rational. This is found in such features as the overwhelming majority of rural inhabitants, the slow process of urbanization and the overly rapid development of large cities. These are the most prominent indications of the irrational population distribution.

2. The Basic Factors Which Change Population Distribution

The population distribution and changes in it are determined by changing conditions in the natural and mechanical population increases in different areas. The natural and mechanical population increases are influenced by various natural, sociological, technological and economic factors. The basic conditions in China are primarily influenced by the following factors:

1. Natural conditions and natural resources. Such factors as superior or inferior natural conditions and the variety, structure, quantity and quality of natural resources can make great differences between different areas and such factors as early or late exploitation of natural resources and the large scale or the small scale development of these resources can lead to uneven economic developments in different countries and different regions. These factors then lead to uneven population distributions. China's uneven population distribution is to a great extent closely related to local shortcomings in natural conditions and natural resources. In terms of natural conditions, China is located at the eastern end of the Eurasian continent, the eastern half is heavily influenced by seasonal rains and the climate is humid or semi-humid while the western portion is located in the Asian continent and has a clearly continental type of climate. In terms of topography the western portion is high plains and mountains while the eastern portion is level plains and hills, with natural conditions in the east greatly superior to those in the west. In terms of natural resources the eastern portion because of its superior natural conditions has an abundance of natural vegetation so the people have far better conditions for obtaining the means of subsistence than in the west. Therefore the eastern portion not only became the primary dwelling area of China's early inhabitants but also later developed into the nation's primary agricultural region as well as the nation's most densely populated region. Because the economy developed earlier and faster in the east it then led the nation in science and technology. The various mineral deposits were found earlier and more extensively developed and utilized, which promoted the development of industry, mining and commerce in the east. This then attracted a greater number of people which resulted in the building of even more cities. Therefore, the regional conditions and natural resources actually are the foundation for the imbalance in our economic distribution and our population

distribution. After the natural conditions in the western regions have been transformed and after there has been even larger scale utilization of the natural resources there will be continual population increases in the west. The reason why there has been relatively rapid population increases in the west is mostly related to the large scale land reclamation and mining projects in the western regions. Actually, however, the condition of abundance in the east and scarcity in the west cannot be basically changed unless the western regions undergo a basic transformation of the natural conditions and make great breakthroughs in the discovery, development and utilization of natural resources.

2. The development and deployment of production forces. Progress in science and technology, the level and scope of developments in industry, agriculture and transportation as well as the arrangements and distribution in industry, agriculture and transportation all have a decisive influence on population distribution. As Engels pointed out, "Marx discovered the rule governing developments in human society, which is that throughout history a complex ideology has covered the simple fact that people must first take care of their needs for food, drink, shelter and clothing before they can engage in politics, science, technology, religion and so on. Therefore, the production of the immediate, concrete means of subsistence form the foundation for the stage of economic development for a given people at a given time."² Industry, agriculture and transportation are production departments which are directly related to the means of livelihood and the scope and level of development in industry, agriculture and transportation are decisive factors in the production of the means of livelihood and are decisive factors in satisfying people's need for food, drink, shelter and clothing. Consequently they are decisive factors in determining population distribution. Wherever industry, agriculture and transportation are developed and wherever there is a relative abundance of the means of livelihood there is then great potential for attracting people to that place. Therefore, following developments in industry, agriculture and transportation as well as changes in their regional distribution, especially in the development and deployment of new production forces, there generally then exists the potential for corresponding population increases and there will be corresponding changes in the regional population distributions. This can be clearly seen in the close relationship over the past 30 years between developments and deployment of our industry, agriculture and transportation with the increases and distribution of the population.

Starting with the First Five Year Plan the strategy of our socialist economic construction has been to completely utilize and strengthen the agricultural bases along the eastern seacoast and to make planned and gradual positive construction of the industrial and agricultural base of the interior. Taking industrial construction as an example, during the First Five Year Plan 58 percent of the investment in industrial basic construction and 60 percent of the 156 core engineering projects all took place in the interior. During the first 3 years of the Second Five Year Plan 58.3 percent of the investment in industry was in

the interior and during the Third Five Year Plan 60 percent of the investment in industry was in the interior. During the Fourth Five Year Plan there was continued emphasis on industrial construction in the interior. This resulted in obvious changes in the ratio of industry between the east and the west and also caused obvious changes in the population distribution. For example, in 1952 75 percent of the total national industrial production value was generated along the seacoast and only 25 percent in the interior. By 1978 the ratios were 59.3 percent along the coast and 40.7 percent in the interior. In terms of the population distribution there is a lack of statistical materials on population distribution between the coast and the interior so we will use the nine southwestern and northwestern provinces as examples. In 1953 they contained 19.55 of the total national population, and by 1978 this had risen to 23.35 percent, while there was a corresponding decline in the population ratio along the seacoast. This is most clearly shown in the newly built industrial, mining, agricultural and animal husbandry bases which sprung up throughout the interior and along the northwest and southwest border regions. Continual construction of railroads and main roads and branch roads produced a number of new areas for people to inhabit and also resulted in some new industrial and mining towns. There even were some large cities with over one million inhabitants, which caused changes in the population distribution. In the eastern part of the country there was increased utilization and strengthening of existing industrial and agricultural bases which resulted in an increased number of large and middle sized cities and in an increase of the rural population.

Generally speaking, however, because of socio-political factors, especially the interference of the extreme leftist line, ever since the founding of the nation our industrialization has progressed slowly and this has resulted in slow progress in urbanization. In addition, the one-sided concentration of industry in large and middle-sized cities has resulted in a decrease of the number of small cities and the blind development of large and middle-sized cities, especially the large cities. For example, a number of cities neglected their own concrete conditions, paid no attention to emphasizing their strengths and avoiding their weaknesses, made full use of their own technological and economic superiorities, and made one-sided pursuit of "small and complete," and "large and complete" industrial structures with the result that the cities swelled in size and became ever larger. A number of small cities located close to natural materials, fuel and power production sources and also having adequate labor forces nonetheless failed to develop potential industries and permitted their local strengths to remain backward and undeveloped. For a long time the broad countryside has emphasized foodgrains and neglected the development of economic crops, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations, fishery and commerce. There was even greater neglect of developing rural industries. For a long time the countryside was in the difficult position of "taking grains as the backbone and letting the rest go to ruin." This forced great numbers of peasants to use their limited land to produce only foodgrains and prevented them from using their excess labor forces to engage in other production, especially industrial production, which in turn prevented the rural population from being transformed into an urban population.

3. The transformation of the socio-economic and political systems. In societies which are based on the private ownership of the means of production the ruthless exploitation of the workers by the exploiting classes, bitter class struggles and fierce national wars all influence the uneven development of local economies and cause changes in the population distribution. During China's long history sharp class struggles and national wars continually brought changes to our economic centers and population distribution. The ruthless exploitation of the peasants by the landlord class countless times caused the peasants to lose their land and forced them to leave their homes and become "wanderers" fleeing to other provinces. Such movements also brought change to the population distribution. After Liberation China instituted public ownership of the means of production which resolved the conflict of the separation of the workers from the means of production, and also instituted a planned economy. It was then possible for the national economy to have some development according to the laws of proportional development, to have planned economic development and to have planned control over population increases. During the First Five Year Plan we operated according to the conditions of large populations in the east and the south and small populations in the west and north and according to the objective requirements for carrying out large scale industrial and agricultural basic construction in both the west and the east. We carried out several large scale movements of the population from the east to the west and from the south to the north. After the establishment of new industrial and agricultural bases in the west and in the north during the Second Five Year Plan we continually transferred large numbers of scientific and technological personnel, workers, former soldiers and cadres to assist in the establishment of new industrial and agricultural bases. This resulted in substantial increases in the populations of the provinces and regions of Heilongjiang, Nei Monggol, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang. Except for organized immigration and population transfers, blind population shifts arose from various causes and socio-political factors, especially the destruction caused by the ten year period under the extreme leftist line.

3. The Way to Achieving a Rational Population Arrangement

An analysis of the changing features and formative factors of population distribution in China shows that on the one hand the population has some rational features and on the other hand it has some irrational features. The rational features are as follows: A wider and somewhat more balanced population distribution and an increase of the number of cities. The irrational features are as follows: All areas, especially the eastern part of the country and the rural regions are too heavily populated, there is too little urbanization, the urban population, especially the mining and industrial population, is too small and the large cities have a tendency towards abnormal development. There is insufficient planning of population migrations and a severe problem with aimless population movements. Such conditions are not suitable for the need to rapidly implement the four modernizations. We must make rational adjustments in the population

distribution at the same time that we are adjusting the economic conditions. This is the only way to speed up the development of the four modernizations and quickly improve the material and cultural living standard of people throughout the nation.

Given the present conditions, the best way to achieve a rational population distribution is as follows:

1. The entire nation must implement birth control measures to restrict future population increases. This is the present central task in China's population work and also is the foundation and premise for achieving rational population arrangements. The characteristics of China's population increases are as follows: For both the eastern and western portions of the country, the Han nationality regions and the minority nationality regions, advanced regions and backward regions and the cities and the countryside the rate of natural population increase is very high and this has caused a general increase in population density in all parts of the country. Moreover, this too rapid rate of population increase and the resulting overpopulation have already caused assorted contradictions, slowed down socialist construction, caused a retreat in the four modernizations and negatively influenced the improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard. Therefore, if we do not implement birth control throughout all areas of the country and exert planned controls over population increases there is no point in even discussing a rational population distribution and we will not be able to achieve planned economic development and planned population control. Some people have said that in the minority nationality areas the economy and culture are backward but there is a sparse population and abundant resources so these areas should not have birth control or have any controls over population development. First, it must be understood that birth control is determined according to our socialist production methods and is an objective necessity of our socialist basic economic rules and the rules for planned proportional development of the national economy. Next, there is the current need for the country to advance toward the four modernizations. Right now, not only are there sharp contradictions between population increases in the Han nationality areas of eastern China and economic development, there also are even sharper contradictions between population increases in the minority nationality areas and economic development. In Xinjiang, for example, since Liberation the rate of natural population increases in 1954 and 1955 was 13.72 per thousand and 13.94 per thousand, while in the years 1965 and 1972 it had reached 30.57 per thousand and 30.58 per thousand respectively. In 1978 it was still 14.86 per thousand. All of these figures are higher than the national average. Because of these rapid population increases the more Xinjiang developed agriculture and animal husbandry the more it was unable to keep pace with the needs created by population increases. For example, the acreage of cultivated land per person decreased from 4.74 mu in 1953 to 3.88 mu in 1978 so that while each person had an average of 788 jin of foodgrains in 1953 this decreased to 608 jin in 1978. In 1949 there was an average of 2.4 head of livestock per person but this declined to 2 head per person in 1978. It is obvious

that if population controls are not exerted in Xinjiang that the contradiction between population increases and economic development will become even deeper. Someone has said that Xinjiang still has approximately one hundred million mu of land that can be cultivated so there is still a certain amount of potential for population development. Actually, the land in Xinjiang which can be reclaimed is basically pasturage for animal husbandry and the technique for changing pasturage into farmland is still debatable. Even if land can be reclaimed it still must be primarily used to grow fodder for the livestock. Xinjiang already has a shortage of foodgrains and future developments in industry and mining will certainly cause an increase in urban population and an even greater need for agricultural and animal husbandry products. Where the continued improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard is concerned these one hundred million mu of wasteland cannot provide for many people at all. Someone has said that there are many immigrants to Xinjiang and the other minority nationality areas so there ought to be controls over immigration rather than control over the population increase of the minority nationalities. This also is incorrect. It is true that immigration ought to be controlled. However, with the development of industry, mining, culture, education, health services and other such enterprises, in addition to the full use of local cadres, scientific and technological personnel and workers it is still necessary to depend on the help of scientific and technological forces from other areas. Someone has said that the Han nationality already occupies two fifths of Xinjiang's total population so that in the future there should be strict control over increase of the Han nationality population and no birth control for minority nationalities. According to investigations by concerned persons however, the natural birthrate increase of the Xinjiang minority nationality is much higher than that of the Han nationality (for example, Yining city has a natural birth rate increase of 5.94 per thousand for the Han nationality and 21.3 per thousand for the minority nationalities). This is especially true in the rural areas where the child birth pattern "early, frequent and many." Marriages generally take place at 15 or 16 years of age and by age 30 a couple has already had over 10 births. Families generally have from 5 to 9 children. With conditions such as this, what is there to be done except to institute birth control? Xinjiang is not at all atypical and in other minority nationality areas such practices are even more widespread. Therefore, birth control should be instituted not only in the Han nationality areas but also in the minority nationality areas. Of course, there still are some minority nationality areas with small minority populations and low natural birthrates so that birth controls can be instituted somewhat later, but this can only be a temporary measure.

In our vast mountain areas there now are population losses and inadequate labor forces. In the mountain areas around Beijing, for example, a great many young people use whatever possible means to go to the city to look for work and to find a "mate." However, this loss of labor forces was primarily caused by the previous lack of construction in the mountain areas and the long term backwardness of

the economy and culture. This is not sufficient reason to relinquish birth control efforts in the problem areas. As soon as there are economic and cultural developments in the mountain areas they will take on a whole new appearance and the population losses will come to a halt.

2. The problem of immigration. Quite a number of people who see the population imbalances that exist then advocate immigration from the densely populated east to the sparsely populated west. In terms of natural conditions we see that some places have superior foundations while other places have inferior conditions. Most places with superior conditions have more people while those places with inferior conditions have fewer people. This is entirely in accord with natural law. According to the same principle, wherever there are higher economic standards and a broader production scope there ought to be a greater population, and this is also in accord with economic laws. It is therefore irrational to speak of population distribution purely in terms of the population density per square kilometer.

There are two standards for determining whether a population distribution is rational or not. One is whether or not a country or a region's production level of the means of subsistence is suitable for its population and for the people's material and cultural living standard. Another is whether or not a country or region's level of development of the means of production is suited to the quantity and quality of the labor forces. The terms suitable and adequate mean that production of the means of livelihood not only can support human life but also can make continual improvements to the people's material and cultural standard of living. The term quantity means that the means of production is to the greatest extent possible absorbing the labor quantity and transforming it into products. Marx has discussed all of these principles. Therefore, in determining whether a population distribution is rational or not one must first examine the ratio and rate of increase existing between population increases and production of the means of livelihood. First one must look at the scope and rate of development of agricultural production in foodgrains and so on. Next one looks at the scope, level and speed of development of the means of production, i.e., land and the implements of production. If the population increases exceed the speed of increase in these two materials then the proportions are lost and it is irrational and unsuitable. On the contrary, if the population increases are lower than the speed of increase of these two factors it then is rational and suitable. However, if the population is so small that it is unable to utilize the resources and the means of production, thus influencing production developments then it is irrational and unsuitable.

We can see from the above principles that since liberation although our population increases have not greatly exceeded the speed of development in industry and agriculture nonetheless they have already seriously influenced economic developments, influenced the speedy implementation of the four modernizations and have influenced the improvement of the people's cultural and material living standards and therefore are unsuitable and irrational. The best solution is to greatly develop agriculture and industry, make more suitable arrangements for them and at the same time greatly control population increases.

3. Positively promote brigade enterprises and local industrial development, increase the pace of combined agricultural-agricultural-commercial industries, speed up implementation of the incorporation of rural areas and decrease the ratio of the rural population. At present our rural population stands in the great majority and the urban population is in the minority. There are few cities and urbanization proceeds slowly. Acceleration of the pace of urbanization depends primarily on the development of industry and the speedy implementation of industrialization. To implement industrialization there must be development of modern, large scale industrial enterprises, but these can be initiated only by the state as the local areas, especially the farm villages, are unable to operate these modern, large scale enterprises. If the farm villages wish to implement urbanization and industrialization they ought to emphasize development of small scale brigade enterprises and middle and small scale industries and then gradually implement combined agricultural-industrial-commercial cooperatives. Only by making progress and implementing municipal incorporation can we transform great numbers of the rural population into an urban population, produce even more middle and small size cities and middle and small size industrial and mining regions, and transform the distribution of our rural and urban populations.

If the countryside gradually carries out industrialization and incorporation of cities and towns this will stop the blind flow of country people into the cities and also possibly will bring about fundamental change in our policy of sending urban intellectual youth to the mountains and to the countryside.

4. Strict control over the allocation of industry in large cities and control over the scope of population developments in large cities. The blind development of large cities has already caused a number of sharp contradictions such as crowded transportation, housing problems, short supplies of non-staple foods, environmental pollution and municipal government management problems. Everyone is already aware of these problems. Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou both frequently pointed out the necessity of controlling large cities and of developing middle and small size cities. Nonetheless, the large cities continue to expand even today. The main reasons are that industry continues to concentrate in large cities and during the period when the gang of four ran rampant there was severe anarchism, some departments of urban construction were abolished, others lacked authority to control matters and still others had the authority but could not exercise it. This warns us that if we are to exercise control over blind industrial development in large cities we must first give authority to the departments of urban construction, formulate regulations covering industrial development in large cities and exercise control over the development of certain industries in large cities by taking into account the nature and capabilities of the large cities. We next must implement strict regulations governing land appropriations in the large cities and put such matters under the unified control of the urban development departments. This third item is the rational arrangement of

urban industry. Those industries which definitely will pollute the urban environment or which will marr the appearance of the city as well as combustibles or inflammables cannot be permitted in the downtown area. Finally, satellite cities should be developed in order to relieve population pressures on the downtown areas.

In addition to these there should also be controls over population increases in large cities. At present, all large cities have generally had good results in birth control work and there have been overall decreases in both the birth rate and the rate of natural population increase. Birth control work in the large cities should be put in a position of great emphasis.

There also should be strict controls over blind population shifts. We do not now have any unified system of control over population movements in and out of the large cities. The concerned leadership organs ought to make regulations under unified management and with strict application procedures.

FOOTNOTES

1. Wei Jinsheng [7164 3160 3932], translator, RENKOU FENBU HE CHENGSHIHUA [POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND URBANIZATION], See SHIJIE JINGJI YICONG [SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON THE WORLD ECONOMY] No. 1, p 75.
2. MAKESI-ENGESI XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 3, p. 574.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'IDEAL TRUTHFULNESS' STRESSED AS GOAL FOR ARTISTS, WRITERS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Lu Guishan [7120 6311 1472]: "Light a Bright Torch--On 'Ideal Truthfulness' in Art"]

[Text] An ideal in art must have a basis in life. A so-called "ideal" that is separate from the truthfulness of life and that transcends history can only be benighted, false wishful thinking, and fantasy. Artistic ideals, like the fate of the Chinese people, have traversed a very bumpy road.

The "deification movement" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" produced a very bad influence. This band of clowns actually depicted the proletarian leader and heroic personalities as divine idols and consecrated Marxism as a religious creed. Using literary means, they propagated superstition and worship, instigated fanaticism and blind action, and induced the younger generation to fall victim to false enthusiasm, innocent trust, and blind loyalty and submit to the tyranny of the ultraleft line. Their purpose for doing so, to borrow the words of Marx and Engels, was to "ask us to prostrate ourselves before the divine image of an individual enjoying prerogatives" through "deification of individual personalities."

During the "Cultural Revolution" the imagination and fabrications that filled certain literary works deviated far from social reality and became false decorations of life. They employed false scenes of victory to gloss over failings and mishandlings in line and policy, and they employed trumped-up spectacles of advancement to cover up debacles and retrogression in the cause of revolution and construction. Artistic ideals not only deviated completely from the truthfulness of life but also became a pathological distortion and abnormal exaggeration of reality.

Because they were encroached upon by subjectivist attempts at creation, artistic ideals lost their trustworthiness and persuasiveness. Subjectivist artistic descriptions lacked a basis in life; they often deviated from the scientific, truth-seeking attitude of reflecting the aggressive character and revolutionary courage and resourcefulness of heroic personalities, or they substituted emotions for policy stability, or they substituted desires for realistic possibilities, or they aggravated the devious style of boastful pretention and fondness for the grandiose, or they spread the evil practice of flattering, fawning, and ingratiating.

Ideals deviating from reality and transcending history can only be illusory. Such idealistic ideals greatly ruined the reputation of ideals and made it possible for

people, seemingly not without basis, sometimes to associate this solemn and lofty term "ideal" with falsehood, exaggeration, fanaticism & blind action. For many years, the influence of ultraleftist thought served to foster people's sensitivity about ultraleftist tendencies. Every time an ideal is promoted today, it is hardly avoidable that some persons should raise this or that kind of misunderstanding, suspecting that this might be either an advance sign of a boastful workstyle or the overture of a farce of "blind haggling"; hence they treat it with a cold shoulder or with disdain. What is originally something fine becomes distorted to the point of making people loathe it. This really merits our profound reflection.

Heroes, and ideals exemplified by heroes, are not only facts in our lives but also facts in art. Naturally, the largest number in real life consists of common people not necessarily with far-reaching ideals. Literary creations should depict them but should not, because of this, exclude the depiction of heroes and ideals. The two are not opposites but are mutually complementary. Only by writing both about heroes and about common people can a writer more comprehensively reflect life. Artificially stressing only one side of it by advocating the depiction of common people, on the premise of opposing the depiction of heroes--or advocating the depiction of heroes, on the premise of opposing the depiction of common people--is entirely metaphysical and violates the dialectics in life and in art.

The reason why the proletariat's and the masses of people's view of ideals has a scientific and revolutionary character lies precisely in the fact that it is able to correctly understand and dialectically handle the relationship between realities and ideals with the advanced world view of Marxism. On the one hand, [this view] opposes the tendency of "non-idealization," acknowledges the factors of ideals in real life, strives earnestly to discover and tap these factors of ideals and, through artistic refinement and generalization, contrivance and imagination, concentrate them, make them salient, and stress them so as to place them on a plane higher than life. On the other hand, while placing them on a plane higher than life, it does not push them beyond reality, but seeks to impart in them a sense of truthfulness pertaining to the era and a sense of relevance with respect to history. Hence it opposes resorting to idealization beyond reality and beyond history, and at the same time it advocates that ideals must have a basis in life. Simply put, it considers reality as embodying the factors of ideals on the one hand and, on the other hand, it holds that ideals have a basis in life, opposes both the erroneous tendency of "nonidealization" of reality and the erroneous tendency of pushing ideals beyond reality, and strives earnestly to display "ideal truthfulness" in art through the tapping and depiction of genuine ideals in life, so as to achieve a lively and harmonious unity between reality and ideals in art.

Ideals should have a basis in reality. Just as Belinsky has pointed out: "Today, we understand an 'ideal' not as an exaggeration, not as a lie or as a childish fantasy, but as a veritable fact in reality; but this is not a fact transcribed from reality. It is, rather, a fact sublimated into a creative gem through the imagination of a poet and spotlighted by the brilliance of commonsense." Denial of this "fact (that can be) sublimated into a creative gem," or rigid subscription to reality, overlooking or obliterating the writer's creative spirit, taking a picture of a fact as though photographing it, or mechanically and inflexibly transcribing a fact can hardly produce an ideal on a plane higher than life. But an ideal is definitely no mere utopia or fantasy. In molding heroic personalities and displaying the ideals

exemplified by heroic personalities, a writer must proceed from actual life. Lu Xun said: "China's revolutionary literateurs and critics are always demanding the depiction of happy revolutions and perfect revolutionaries. Their opinion is of course transcendent and perfect to the extreme, but because of this they also end up as utopians." He held that "actual warriors" "are not all characterized by heroic and moving deeds, but are nonetheless all associated with deeds that are heroic and moving." Therefore, if a writer depicts an "actual warrior" in overly pure and perfect terms as one characterized by "all heroic and moving deeds," then his work is bound to end up as a "utopia" that transcends reality and transcends history. If he cannot see this side of the picture--that "actual warriors" are "nonetheless all associated with deeds that are heroic and moving"--then he is also likely to depict such a warrior in exceedingly vulgar terms and miss the radiance of ideals.

When discussing how literature should depict the advanced personalities of the petit bourgeois faction in France during the period of the 1848 Revolution, Marx and Engels were opposed to the following two tendencies: One tendency was exaggeration divorced from reality in the style of Raffaello, which deified those personalities, "depicting them as personalities of officialdom, with thick-soled boots on their feet and halos over their heads." The other tendency was mediocre, trivial transcription, writing down everything that was heard, as exhibited in two books, "The Plotter" by Chenu, detective of the July Dynasty, and "The Birth of the Republic in February 1848" by the old-style professional policeman Jie-lao-de. The former tendency was the idealist tendency of idealization beyond reality; the latter was the naturalist tendency of "nonidealization," rigidly confining oneself to reality. Marx and Engels opposed both of these tendencies and suggested "using the drastic colors of Rembrandt on the leaders of the revolutionary faction" and "vividly depicting them," so as to have them both enriched with truthfulness in life and also shining with the definite radiance of ideals.

Advanced events and personalities in our lives always embody definite idealistic elements and factors. Stalin put it very well: "A classless theorist can create ideals which lack relevant elements in actual life; he can see only the elements of future things and, on that basis, create the ideals in theory which his class wishes to attain." An artist is like a theorist; he cannot, nor should he, groundlessly fantasize ideals for which no factors obtain in life. He is merely good at discerning certain new factors in life which are still in a budding state, so that he can, by making them salient and stressing them artistically, display and forecast a bright future. This shows that the content of idealistic concepts is not subjective but is determined by the objective situation of new and old struggles in the process of social development. For this reason, Gorkiy maintained that, in order not to encounter perplexities in a life of turmoil and mixture of the new and the old, artists must establish an "observation point" to "look at the present from a future point of view." They "should stand on a plane that is higher than reality and, provided they do not make others deviate from reality, elevate it above reality" and, to the extent possible, create "a third reality--future reality."

The revelation of ideals by the artist is realized mainly through the molding of ideal personalities. But this does not imply that the molding of other personalities therefore cannot reflect the artist's ideals. This is not the case. The ways and manners by which artists display ideals are diverse. They can reveal the beautiful future and display the historical tendency of brightness necessarily overcoming darkness through the molding of various images of personalities and from various sides and angles: by depicting changing personalities, such as displaying the power of

socialism, presaging how youths are bound to embark upon a bright road, and showing and verifying the inspiring, stimulating influence of the farsighted ideals of socialism and communism on the new generation, through the depiction of the change from depravity to awakening and from degeneration to rebirth on the part of Li Xiaoxia [2621 2556 7209] (drama, "Please Save Her"); and by molding negative images, such as discoursing on and praising the purity, nobility, heroism, and selfless dedication of positive personalities with negative contrasts, relentlessly exposing the filth and baseness of such negative personalities, and thereby achieving the goal of affirming beauty by ways and means of negating ugliness. Even in the case of sarcastic art, it can also to a degree display certain ideals. Appraising the dramas of Gogol, Russian writer Saltykov-Shchedrin, Mikhail Yevgrafovich, pointed out: "No one would try to find ideal personalities in 'The Inspector,' but no one would deny that there are ideals in this comedy." Such ideals were mixed in the writer's strong hatred of and contempt for the ugliness of Tsarist officialdom and reflected in the audience's poignant jokes and ridicule. This shows that the ways in which artists reflect life and express their own ideals and ideas and feelings are not confined to one category. When they wish to affirm a certain thing, they may affirm it directly, or they may affirm it indirectly by negating the corresponding opposite. Just as Dobrolyudov, Nikolay Aleksandrovich said: "If, negatively...a clear picture of false relationships and all their consequences is depicted for us, then his work becomes an echo of the wish to demand a better system." It does not necessarily serve any useful purpose for anyone to deny that, through the ways and means of negating a negative phenomenon, the goal of affirming the positive phenomenon corresponding to it can be achieved. But a writer must "have ideals internally" (Lu Xun's words), so that his works not "only shake people's hearts" but can also "brighten up people's hearts" (Mrs Madame de Staël's words). Only thus can he achieve the kind of results which Gorkiy hoped to achieve: to let the picture of ugly life depicted by writers "arouse people to feel a sense of shame, and provide a strong desire on the part of the people to create another way of life." If writers lack "the light of ideals" internally, if their interest and style are not sufficiently noble, or if they even connive with old things, then they can only display, exhibit, and embellish dark, ugly things and consciously or unconsciously cause social effects that are not beneficial to the building of an advanced spiritual civilization.

We must see that this method of affirming ideals through the relentless exposing of ugly phenomena is revealed, after all, by the negation of negative things; it is therefore indirect, tortuous, and conditional. Only through the molding of positive images, especially the molding of ideal personalities, can a writer affirm and propagate advanced ideals positively and directly, establish examples which others can emulate, and point out to them the direction of advance. Whether one writes about the destruction of heroic personalities or about their growth, praising their brilliant achievements in overcoming evil forces and in creating a socialist new life, one can always demonstrate their firm beliefs, lofty sentiments, and farsighted ideals. In the case of those works which entirely reflect a struggle between brightness and darkness, they in particular will, through their display of the end result of victory in which heroes foil all difficulties and obstacles, demonstrate even more forcefully the character of our new people and the power of our advanced ideology, and they are also more helpful in reinforcing the people's confidence and courage in carrying out struggles for the realization of great ideals.

Lenin put it very well: "History has long proved that great revolutionary struggles will create great personalities." Our advanced social system and great practice in

struggle which creates our new life have provided incomparably superior conditions for fostering our socialist generation of new people. At present, our country is situated at the historic threshold of a great change. In the New Long March, one group after another of this socialist generation of new people, shining with the brilliance of ideals, has begun to surge forth. On the literary stage, there have appeared the images of such new people as Xiao Guangpu [0829 0342 2613], Li Jian [2621 0256], Che Pongkuan [6508 5570 1401], Bei Hanting [6296 3352 1694], and Ding Meng [0002 3718], who shine like stars, each with its distinctive radiance. These are images of new people who are trailblazers hacking their way through difficulties, as well as innovators who prove to be bold and resolute along the route of the New Long March. They represent the future of our cause. Our socialist literary creations should light a bright torch through the molding of images of new people, and they should guide and encourage people to fight unrelentingly for the revival of China and for the realization of farsighted revolutionary ideals.

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ATTUNING SOCIALIST LITERATURE TO PEOPLE'S LIVES

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[Article by Wei Jianlin [5898 1696 2651]: "Literature Must Give People Strength"]

[Text] It is inevitable for the literature of any era or any society to become directly or indirectly associated with the masses of people in various forms. Backward, corrupt, and reactionary literature plays the role of maintaining the interests of the exploitive classes, dissipating the strength of the people, and damaging the undertakings of the people. Even in the case of a literature which is supposed to be isolated, insulated from the world and which pursues so-called "self-expression," as long as its works enter into society in any way, they are also likely to become a link in social relations and penetrate the activities of a certain segment of the people. It is an objective fact of history that the people always end up making a fair appraisal of the different nature of literature and its social status in their own long-term practice.

A literature which does not receive the support of the forces of the people, which does not give the people strength or stand together with the people, is ultimately going to wither and decline. Progressive, revolutionary literature always draws strength from the ranks of the people, and at the same time it reflects this strength through its re-creation by writers and by way of full, individualistic, vivid images, and turns it back to the ranks of the people, thereby promoting the realization of the people's unity, progress, and common interests. This great source of strength lies precisely in the people's historical creative activity itself. But whether or not it can take shape and play a role in the form of literature cannot be determined except by the creative labor of writers who harbor genuine enthusiasm and firm beliefs with respect to the people's cause.

The cause of the Chinese people's revolution and construction, the fact that the Chinese people have defeated all kinds of enemies and overcome all kinds of difficulties to enable their socialist motherland to stand erect and become ever more powerful and prosperous, and the historical progress that the Chinese people are making with full concentration in the construction of their socialist modernization all require writers to put down deep roots in practice and do their best to demonstrate their artistic imagination and artistic creativity so as to give them enjoyment of beauty and, through the enjoyment of beauty, to provide them with rich knowledge and profound enlightenment in order to understand reality and history and also supply them with education in lofty morals and healthy sentiments. The people's liberation

and the establishment and continued improvement of the socialist system have already opened up an infinitely broad world for the great development of literature. Hence, whether from the standpoint of the construction of our socialist modernization and the objective demands of the masses of the people, or of the essence of socialist literature, it should, and is bound to, become a most powerful literature.

In the past few years, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, one of the most conspicuous indicators of the historic progress made by our literature consists precisely of the fact that it has established an increasingly close association between itself and the ranks of the people. Literature has been reflecting the people's life, feelings, and desires in a more penetrating and genuine manner. The circumstances from which this situation had emerged are not difficult to understand. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their ultraleft line cruelly persecuted our writers. Our writers were deprived of their right to write for the people and lost certain material conditions necessary for their literary activities, and the association between literature and the people became almost completely severed. A writer was even regarded not as an element of the people but as a "stinking ninth category," a "bourgeois intellectual," and a "counterrevolutionary revisionist element" and, on the basis of that status, was forced to accept criticism and carry out so-called thought reform; the insignificance of his social status was historically unprecedented. This situation was of course extremely unfortunate. But precisely because writers and the people suffered together, were subjected to the severe test of the "Cultural Revolution" together, and shared the joy of eventual victory together, it was easier for them to understand the people's life and sense the people's feelings and desires. Thus, along with the implementation of the guiding concepts of seeking truth from facts and of correcting leftist errors--concepts put forward by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee--a large quantity of works describing the people's sufferings, exposing and censuring the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," demonstrating the people's struggles, and summing up the experiences and lessons of the "Cultural Revolution" and even of the nearly 30 years of our socialist revolution and construction have rather understandably emerged and gained the welcome of the masses of the people. The fine works among them will be recorded in the history of our socialist literature not only as ideological and artistic fruits but also as having singularly significant perceptive value, and they will constitute an indispensable page in the process of development as a link between the past and the future. These works play an important role in arousing people to struggle against Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their remnant forces, in enabling people to liberate themselves from the leftist constraints which for many years hampered the development of our socialist cause, and in prompting people to proceed from looking back at history [to look] forward to begin to build a new life in a down-to-earth way and with full confidence.

But life advances at a flying speed. The problem now is that the people still need to look back at the path they followed yesterday; they still need to perceive anew the laws of society from past errors, setbacks, and losses. But if they continue to remain at the level of several years ago, if they fail to further deepen the themes of literature with which everybody is already familiar today, it will be very hard for the people to feel completely satisfied. In the meantime, the people have already come to see increasingly clearly that because the shift of the focus of work of the whole country and the dawn of new life brought about by the series of the party's principles and policies have been pouring all energy into caring for the present and the future, their life, thinking, feelings, and esthetic demands have also begun to undergo changes, along with the changes in various social relationships inevitably caused by the construction of socialist modernization. Hence, insofar as the general

tendency of our social literature is concerned, it was impossible in the past, and it is even less so today, to take lamentation, hesitation, or disconsolation as its foundation. The people are waiting. They hope to see more, better, and continuously improving works that are saturated with an exciting, assertive, striving force lighted by the brilliant practice of the enterprises of construction in our socialist modernization and communist ideals on the basis of solid realities. They hope to see from these works the more accurate, more well-rounded, and forceful images of themselves as buriers of ugly things, builders of a new life, trailblazers of history, and masters of their own destiny. Such works have already been produced in quantity. Persons like Qiao Guanpu [0829 0342 2613], Bai Ji [4101 3381], Bei Hanting [6296 3352 1694], Wang Risheng [3769 2480 0581], Lu Wenting [7120 2429 1250], and others are right now passing on the sound of the footsteps of advancing history and are playing the role of encouraging the people. In terms of their genuine reflection of the depth and breadth of the people's life and ideals today, the appearance of a contingent of literary personalities as represented by these persons is of great significance. Their kind of works have already melted deep into the social practice of the masses of people and have become organic elements of their effort to transform the objective world and transform themselves. History will prove that more and more they will constitute the main trend of our contemporary literature; they augur its future of greater prosperity, even though, at least currently speaking, a writer must still exert hard labor in order really to adapt to the demands of the people and the era.

On such questions of a fundamental nature, have our writers achieved a consistent understanding?

For a long time, we have doggedly subscribed to this theory: it seems that works which give strength to the people can only directly describe or praise the people's labor and struggle and mold the images of people's heroes. This theory was further pushed to the extreme in the circles of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"--namely, the so-called image of the worker, the peasant, and the soldier occupying the center of the stage. But now another view has emerged which considers, for example, that if we do not want works describing bureaucratism and particularization to make people pessimistic or cause them to despair and to lose confidence, then that would be finding fault with the writers; according to this view, that might also lead literary criticism astray. What should be done, then? Is any description of bureaucratism and particularization (or, let us extend the categories a little, any description of the dark side of socialist society or any criticism of the defects and mistakes of the working personnel of the party and state) inevitably and naturally going to make people pessimistic or cause them to despair and lose confidence? Must literary criticism treat questions only in this way before it can be regarded as having followed the correct path, having embarked upon a new path, save which there is no other way out?

Without doubt, literary prosperity has always been predicated on the necessary premise of assuring the freedom of writers to select and deal with their subjects. The life of the masses of people is extraordinarily rich; it is never confined to labor and struggle. Even in the case of labor and struggle, they are always woven and blend together with their love, friendship, and pursuit of a myriad of other beautiful ideals. Are not the unfolding of a scene of nature, the molding of the images of the enemies of the people, and critiques of the people's own defects and mistakes also often filled with their ideas and emotions? What Gorkiy's "Marine Swallow" described was merely a bird. As it elatedly swooped over the roaring sea amidst lightning, the marine swallow somehow became the symbol of the pending arrival of the high tide of the people's

revolution that was bound to destroy the old Russian system of rule, and a harbinger of victory. In a certain sense, the marine swallow was nothing other than an image of the Russian people at the time made artistic. What Lu Xun's "The Native Village," "Disturbance," "Greetings," "The Authorized Biography of Ah Q" and similar works described in the main was not the peasants' awakening, resistance, and struggle, but their sufferings, humiliation, ignorance, and self-deception. These works were of course no symphonic poems or marches of struggle. But undeniably they made the people sense the feelings of pain and shame from long periods of numb and cold experience in life, see the internal connection between the tragedy in their status and spirit and the society of the times, and thereby feel the strong demand to change this situation and not go on to the conclusion of continued endurance at the mercy of fate. Contrary to this, works that praise the people's struggle and victory but singlemindedly list boastful statements and expressions echoing those of others and self-evidently correct articles of policy, or works that do not hesitate to fabricate false situations in order to awkwardly solder onto themselves a tail of brightness, can hardly speak of giving the people strength. As for the likes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who let formalism that was clad in the uniform of the worker, the peasant, and the soldier stand in the center of the stage, but who really sought only to vent their own antiparty feelings through those images, their works already constituted baseful blasphemy and slander of the masses of people.

Under the socialist system, descriptions of the dark side of society and criticism of the defects and mistakes of party and government working personnel similarly do not necessarily give the people strength. So long as a writer can truthfully and correctly place the personalities in his work in the process of change of social association and movement, it is still not difficult for the reader to see that this is merely a limited part of life and not the whole of life. Life will not terminate there, and the people will clean up the dirt that the old system left on them and will continue to advance. And the reader also will inevitably see that the writer is an element of the people; his criticism of certain defects or faults in real life is actually based on good will, solemn and positive. The stories of "In the Midst of Silence" and "Red Magnolias Under the Big Wall" occurred in the darkest days in the 30 years of our republic. But how can we deny that the hatred against the "gang of four" they provided, which was cumulating and fermenting amidst the vast ranks of the masses of the people, was bound to bury the "gang of four" like an exploding volcano and usher in the new spring of our party and state? They did not lead the reader into any cesspool of pessimism or despair and loss of confidence but onto the road of rising to struggle. The criticism hurled at a communist like Zhang Enbang [1728 1344 6721] by the short novel "Thirty Million" may be said to be rather sharp. Unless out of prejudice, probably no one can deny the firm will of the party and the people it so profoundly reflects and the inevitability with which they secure their victory.

Whether in considering that if a work is to give the people strength it can only directly describe and praise the people's labor and struggle, can only mold the images of people's heroes, or in considering that not to want a work that describes bureaucratism and particularization to make people pessimistic or to cause them to despair and lose confidence means finding fault with the writer, there is no difference in principle in the theoretical base in question, and that is: the ideological inclination of literature is determined solely by its subjects. It forgets a fact repeatedly proven by the history of literature: before the fact of our realism, there is no

realm of life which should become a taboo area to literature, an area not to be reflected by literature; nor is there any category of subject that is not able to give the people strength. The crux of the matter lies in whether a writer has truly understood the people or can correctly perceive, under the guidance of an advanced ideology, and master and reflect in his work their actual makeup in historical movement; or, whether or not his work, through artistic handling, is permeated with the people's views on things and reveals the essential content of people's social associations in a given era and the objective trend of historical advance. If it is separated from the writer's ideological inclination, no subject has any meaning. Gorkiy pointed out in his "History of Russian Literature:" What was the reason for the peasants to be brought onto the stage of Russian literature in the 1840's and to become important personalities in literature in the 1850's? It was not the propaganda about socialism at the time, but the Russian peasants themselves who continued to produce disturbances and to conduct uprisings in order to liberate themselves from serfdom. But under the pens of different writers, this situation became described in such a way as to defeat a work's own purpose. In aristocratic writers' earlier descriptions of the peasants during this period, such as in Turgenev's "Diary of the Hunter," peasants with the spirit of resistance were set aside; there was not a single bitter word stated nor an angry tone heard, but only a peaceful, pastoral scene. Only Xie-fu-qin-ko, whom Gorkiy called "a real people's poet", did not distort the people's reason and feelings with his own additions. In Lu Xun's "A Small Event" and Hu Shi's "Ricksha Man," the works both describe rickshaw men, but because of the difference between the ideas and feelings of the authors, they demonstrated examples of sharply contradictory tendencies; these are works especially well known to people. The fact is that, in the hands of a progressive and intelligent writer, even a description of flowers, birds, fish, and insects or a scene of a little bridge over a creek can evince profound meaning, please the people, and give them a certain assistance, whereas in the hands of a backward, benighted writer, even a powerfully moving magnificent album of the people propelling history cannot avoid being smeared into dull darkness.

This is not to say, of course, that in such an overall question of giving the people strength, all subject matter must be of equal value to all others. We wish especially to point out emphatically that in concentrating on a description of individual cases of sorrow, joy, separation, and reunion, a large number of works over the past few years have really greatly broken through certain unnecessary restrictions in past literature with respect to the concrete and detailed illustration of the qualities and desires of our people and have achieved quite precious results. But in terms of the adopted subject matter itself, relatively speaking, works that directly reflect the brilliant achievements and everlasting spirit of heroism on the part of the people in the construction of our socialist modernization and evidently still rather scarce, and their ideological and artistic accomplishments as a result looks to be not quite so outstanding. Works like these must of course also touch on broad aspects of the people's life; they must depict friendship, love, families, etc. Their asset is that they can, as a matter of convenience in this regard, broach general social problems and more likely give people a sense of history. As long as they are good at applying advantageous conditions provided by the subject matter itself and can broaden their fields of vision and expand the avenues of their thought, it is possible for them to achieve greater capacities of accommodation in the contemporary era and thereby play a conspicuous and active role with respect to the social activities of the masses of people.

Since we have broached here the question of more and better works that depict the people, perhaps some would ask, then, where we are going to place the writers themselves. Can a literature that refrains from expressing the ideas and feelings of the writers themselves be regarded as literature? Our answer is: The hearts of socialist writers correspond to the hearts of the people; correctly depicting the people is their supreme, unshirkable, and sacred mission.

Literary works cannot ordinarily depart from the individual ideas and feelings of writers. This is determined by the characteristics of literature itself. Even a minor detail, a passage of monologue, or the depiction of a particular scene in a work has in a given sense the character of the writer communicating his ideas and feelings to the reader. But a socialist writer never has the right to sacrifice the observation of the realities of life, and the people's standpoint and viewpoint implicit therein, to his individual likes and dislikes. The individual writer and the people exhibit an internal, organic unity in the writer's work. On the one hand, a writer cannot be without his own particular artistic methods and artistic style in perceiving, generalizing, mastering, and representing realities and creating images; on the other hand, these artistic methods and artistic style, in the final analysis, are but individualized, special modes for expression on behalf of the people. What the people would support and accept can only be this kind of creativity, because it takes the life and ideals of the people as its source, its destination, and the basis of its existence and demonstration of its role. Gorkiy called writers the echo of the world. What a writer concentrates in his own person should not be just himself but the broadest possible society. Gogol said about Pushkin: "the Russian nature, Russian spirit, Russian language, and Russian character are reflected so clearly and so neatly, just as scenery is reflected on the convex of optical glass" ("The Fighting Traditions of Literature: Some Words About Pushkin"). Pushkin himself wrote: "My ever forthright voice is the echo of the Russian people" (in Bu-luo-ci-ji, ed., "History of Russian Literature," Vol I, p 283). Lu Xun regarded a basic indication of a revolutionary democrat being converted into a communist as the time when one casts off the small world in which one used to complain about one's own hardship and associates oneself consciously with the cause of the Chinese people's liberation. To put it in his own words, this is when one sees that "only the newly arisen proletarian has a future." On this point, shouldn't our writers, who live in socialist China in the 20th century and who constantly receive a Marxist education and the people's unlimited and endless favor, be on an incomparably higher plane than Pushkin? Aren't the social conditions for them to make their own ideas and feelings consistent with those of the people far better than those that were available to Lu Xun?

Today, some comrades are rather reluctant to hear about propositions such as "ideological reform," because ideological reform was actually once distorted as a means of depreciating and unfairly treating writers, or it was understood as a pretext for forcibly and awkwardly requiring writers to carry out their writing according to certain preconceived concepts. The rise of this kind of sentiment is not without its historical causes, but neither is it entirely correct. The question lies in everybody's seeing to it that his thinking conforms to the interests of the masses of the people continuously. This is not determined by somebody's subjective will but is an irresistible demand put forth by the process of social progress and the socialist cause. The situation today is different from that prior to the "Cultural Revolution," and even more different from that during the "Cultural Revolution" period. It may be said that the rights and conditions that our writers have obtained to proceed with their creations, and the love and respect received by our writers today, are all

unprecedented in the past 30 years. The more such conditions are available, the more the writers are required to have the consciousness of constantly understanding the people, learning from the people, and overcoming those ideas and emotions in their own minds that do not tally with the interests of the people.

Actually, it is not that a worrisome situation has never appeared. Some works have lacked sufficient enthusiasm toward the great, creative spirit of the people in engaging themselves in the undertakings of construction of our modernization. Some works have revealed a certain downcast, vulgar, and unhealthy sentimentalism. Some works have exhibited conspicuous traces of fabrication. Some comrades are satisfied with a given group of readers that actually consists of a small number of intellectuals, instead of caring about whether or not their works are welcomed and accepted by the vast ranks of the masses of the people. Even the following kind of theory has appeared: the quintessence of literature, sublimated literature, or so-called elitist literature is not acknowledged by the masses; if they cannot understand it, they may well leave it alone. From our point of view, a basic condition, apart from certain other necessary conditions, for a work to deservedly become the quintessence of literature is that it can be accepted and understood by the vast ranks of readers. Even though it sometimes requires an effort for them to really understand and comprehensively master its ideological and artistic quintessence, taking the fact that the masses cannot understand it as the indication or characteristic of uplifting literature is by all means a violation of the basic facts provided by the entire history of literature. As for the suggestion that, if they cannot understand it, they may well leave it alone, this contradicts even more the demand made on socialist writers by our time: that they serve the people. Not all popular literature may have the standard of uplifting literature; but all uplifting literature is forever at the same time uplifting literature. To a writer who still pretends in his own mind that he is a writer of the people, this is but a self-evident truth that cannot possibly be more basic. The vast ranks of our writers who associate their own destiny with that of the people, and who take it as an honor to dedicate themselves to the cause of the people, have every reason to reject this kind of theory. Even if this is not the case, those progressive writers of begone days who were not necessarily from the ranks of the toiling people would also be unlikely to accept this kind of theory. "Art out of the ordinary may not be understandable to the people, but good art is always understandable to all people." The art that the people do not understand "is either bad art or never really art at all" ("On Art"). These excellent dicta, which still have not lost their meaning today, were not uttered by any revolutionary writer but by Lev Tolstoy. During the most difficult times, our writers and the people were together; in times of victory or pending victory, our writers and the people should all the more be together with the people. If this view can still stand, then insofar as our writers are concerned, wholeheartedly throwing themselves into the bosom of the people, this great mother, and personally participating in the experiencing their enthusiasm and ideals in carrying out construction of socialist modernization, continuously acquainting themselves with the new life of the people which is unfamiliar or still not familiar to them, and thereby obtaining the vitality of art--all of these should become processes juxtaposed with their very lives.

The people cannot remain satisfied with rudimentary feeding in literature for very long. They require not only correct understanding, progressive thinking, and healthy and aspiring sentiments, but also artistic forms and esthetic attainments which correspond to all this, are perfectly unifying, and continue to innovate. Either in terms of a work or the literary trend of a period, what gives the people strength

can hardly be merely piecemeal, ramified, borken-up concepts, but comprehensive concepts which contain the high requirements for every link and part of the content and form of a work. The reason why formulistic works are always weak and listless is precisely because they merely infer philosophical principles, propagate morals, diagram policies, and do not create concrete, lively images and lack artistic infection. Certain works which have appeared today excessively embellish the beauty of the look of personalities, the splendor of natural scenes, the modernity of furnishings in residential houses, and the odd and strange progression of stories, but they neglect to exert any effort on exploring the depth of life and psychic world of personalities. These may be said to be variations of the formalism which once in the past was deeprooted in our literature. Discussions on esthetics and discussions on the exploration of artistic forms and innovative techniques of artistic expression would no doubt be helpful to the uplifting of our literary level. Especially after absorbing the lessons of many years when no attention was paid to the particular laws in art, either theoretically or policy-wise, this way of putting forth questions, studying questions, and committing them to practice is not only inevitable as a trend but also really of great importance. But in the final analysis, are not exploration of artistic forms and innovative techniques of artistic expression designed precisely to better reflect the internal beauty of life, to reflect the strength of the people, and to give the people strength? If they consciously or unconsciously deviate from such a basic premise, if they cannot promote their unity and progress through enriching the spiritual life of the people in various ways, what value is there for these works to exist independently?

History has placed China's modern writers in a special position. On the one hand they have, together with their own motherland and their own people, experienced great pains and are still facing many difficulties which are left over from the past or which have newly appeared, and which may not disappear overnight. On the other hand, the construction of our socialist modernization, China's termination of its poor and backward economic state and its entry into the ranks of the world's advanced nations become vivid realities through the labor of the people of our generation, including our writers. The literary prosperity for which we are struggling will not be a repetition of certain prosperous situations of the past; it must adapt to the great practice of our 1 billion people, adapt to the needs of their daily expanding and continuously improving cultural life, and turn into a colorful chapter unprecedented in the history of Chinese literature. Carrying out such a difficult and glorious task requires our literature to penetrate still further into the people's historical creative activities, to reflect the life of the people more truthfully and more inclusively from an artistic standpoint, and thereby more forcefully propel the people to forge ahead. To absorb strength from the midst of the people and give the people strength--this is the only purpose and the only road for the development of China's socialist literature today.

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